The Outlook

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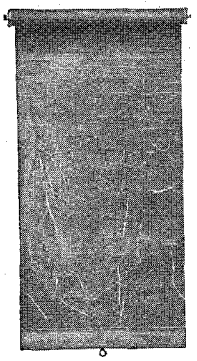
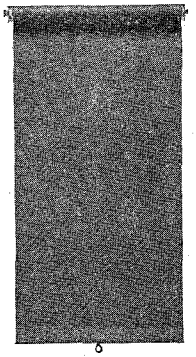
and that regulate the light just as you want



An "opaque" that has mussed and cracked after a few months wear



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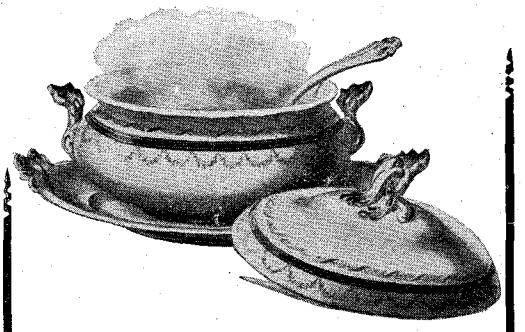

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, MARCH 9, 1907

❀

The Fifty-ninth Congress

The Congress which came to an end on Monday of this week was, in point of achievement, one of great distinction. Its principal task was that of making more efficient the control of the Federal Government over great commercial powers. Such acts as the Railway Rate Law, the Pure Food and Meat Inspection Laws, and the so-called Immunity Law, were significant not only because of what they actually accomplished, but also because of the policy of extending Federal activity which they expressed. Besides, this Congress determined the method of constructing the Panama Canal, extended the resources of the country by making alcohol commercially useful, improved the consular service, made naturalization uniform, and in other matters provided important legislation. At the close of the first session last summer, The Outlook described and explained its principal achievements. The second session, which began last December, was much shorter than the first, and much less prolific of important measures. A great deal of time was consumed in the Senate by the case of Senator Smoot, who was finally freed from liability to expulsion, and, vainly, by the discussion of the case of the discharged negro soldiers. Nevertheless, the impression that this session has been ineffective is not well founded. In the first place, our lawmakers have been busy directing how the money of the Government should be spent. During the three short months of this session they have been shopping to the extent of almost a thousand millions of dollars. That is an enormous sum. We do not believe it has been spent heedlessly, though it may not have been spent altogether wisely. Some of it has gone to the very much needed and highly justified object of higher salaries for certain public services. Some of it has gone for increasing the efficiency of the army and navy; and as these branches of the public service become more and more constructive instruments, money spent upon them becomes more and more remunerative. Some of that money has gone into pensions, and public opinion approves of generosity in that direction. The expenditure of this vast amount is alone a big task.

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The Second Session Its Achievements and Failures

That the general impression concerning the ineffectiveness of the second session is not well founded may be seen from a brief survey of its acts. Of all the subjects about which Congress passed measures during this session four called forth independent legislation of importance. By independent legislation we mean legislation not merely supplementary to other acts of the same Congress. The subject of immigration was long under consideration; the bill which was finally passed, as summarized in The Outlook last week, made some valuable improvements in the present immigration policy of the country, helped to adjust the strained relations between this country and Japan, and, by providing for a thorough investigation of the immigration problem and for an international conference on the subject, is likely to lead to a more thorough and scientific control of immigration than could have been secured by any of the devices, such as educational tests or arbitrary limitation of the numbers of immigrants, which have heretofore been proposed in Congress. The subject of protection to workingmen was dealt with in two important bills: one penalized "shanghaiing"—the kidnapping of men for the purpose of shipping them as sailors;

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the other, introduced by Senator La Follette, but greatly amended, limited the hours of labor of railway employees. The former of these measures was urged by labor organizations; it cannot, however, be regarded in any sense as class legislation, as it was urged also by considerations of common humanity; it became law. The latter was subject to searching criticism, and aroused opposition from some railway interests; it was urged, on the other hand, by railway telegraphers, who sent thousands of messages to Congress on its behalf, and by others; like the other bill, however, it is not a class measure, for it is in the interest of every traveler by rail, and, we believe, of the railway companies as well as their employees. This bill occupied a great deal of the time and energy of Congress. It was, fortunately, passed on the very last day of the session. A third subject was the economic development of the Philippines. This will be greatly promoted by the passage of a bill establishing in the islands a bank which is authorized to grant loans "to those engaged in agriculture for the sole purpose of assisting agriculture in the Philippine Islands"—a bill strongly urged by Secretary Taft. The remaining subject was the corruption of elections by contributions to candidates and parties by corporations; Congress at this session prohibited all such contributions which were within the scope of its legislative powers.

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Other Acts and Omissions

The Fifty-ninth Congress also was occupied during the session in supplementing legislation passed earlier in its existence; such as, amendments to the Meat Inspection Law and the Denatured Alcohol Law; an expatriation law defining what constitutes the lapse of citizenship and thus filling out a lack of the naturalization and other laws; a law (approximating what the President had asked for) extending to the Federal Government the right of appeal in criminal cases, and thus reinforcing the anti-immunity measure passed at the last session and making easier proceedings against individuals indicted in corporation cases. The acceptance by the Senate of the Santo Domingo treaty, though tardy, deserves commendation. In addition, Congress carefully considered but declined to enact a bill granting ship subsidies. Although we cannot approve the methods by which the bill was both promoted and opposed, we consider the result a distinct victory for sound principles of government. So also we welcome the failure to make more cumbersome the procedure against people who make fraudulent use of the mails. Other omissions, however, of Congress ought to be condemned. Chief of these is the omission to do justice to our island wards. To the end of the session the Senate declined even to discuss the question of relieving the Philippines of our tariff burdens; and Congress failed to give citizenship to Porto Ricans, who are now people without a country. Almost as deserving of censure was the killing of the bill to provide a forest reserve in the Appalachian and White Mountains. This bill, though passed unanimously by the Senate and urged repeatedly in Presidential messages, was stifled practically by a single man—the Speaker of the House. This seems to us to be a most flagrant instance of autocratic "usurpation." We are sorry, too, that Congress saw fit to let child labor legislation, the liberal modification of the Chinese exclusion act, and the provision for permanent housing of legations and embassies fail; but these failures are slight in comparison with the refusal to do justice to our island wards, and the arbitrary interference with the attempt to preserve the inestimable treasures of forest and water in the Eastern mountain ranges. These serious failures of a Congress which, in view of its constructive work, really deserves to be called great, we hope will be corrected soon after the next Congress assembles.

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A National Loss

The resignation of Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin, is a public calamity; the cause which necessitates it comes near being a public disgrace. After sixteen years of

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service in the United States Senate, he retires at the age of sixty-four to resume private practice because the Senatorial salary is not sufficient to pay the necessary living expenses of an economical Senator in Washington and leave any margin for his family or his own old age. Senator Spooner has been too devoted to the public interests to divide his time and energies between the service of his country and his private practice, and he is unwilling to draw further upon his moderate reserve. Thus one of the ablest debaters in the Senate, unexcelled by any of his associates in his knowledge of Constitutional law, his reputation for integrity unblurred by even a whispered suspicion, a strong party man but one who regards party organization as a means for the promotion of political principles, a vigorous fighter but always a fair one, is lost from the counsels of the Nation in a Senate which the parsimonious policy of an extravagant Nation is gradually converting into a club of millionaires. Mr. Spooner's resignation emphasizes the truth that the people must either provide a "living wage" for their public servants, or expect the public offices to be filled by men who accept them in order to promote private interests.

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The Panama Canal Situation

The failure of Mr. Oliver (the contractor whose bid was the lowest under the elaborate requirements laid down by the Government) to offer, after the ten days given him in which to revise his original bid, such an arrangement as regards the financial backing and co-operation in actual construction as was in all respects satisfactory to the Canal Commission and the President, has led, in connection with the resignation of Mr. Stevens, the Chief Engineer, to the determination on the part of the Government to place an army engineer in charge of the work. The officer chosen for this important post is Major George W. Goethals, of the Engineer Corps, and he will have as assistant engineers Major Gaillard and Major Siebert, who will be expected to be so familiar with the responsible part of the work that in case of necessity either might succeed Major Goethals. The new Chief Engineer of the Panama Canal is at present a member of the General Staff of the army, and has been active as a member of the Fortifications Board. Major Goethals has been connected with the engineer branch of the army for about twenty-five years, and has had large experience in important engineering work, and especially in the improvement of rivers and in the building of canals—experience which precisely fits him for the nature of the work to be carried on at Panama. There are certain unquestioned advantages to our Government, in carrying out its great task on the Isthmus, to have its Chief Engineer in the work of construction a military officer, directly subject to the orders of the War Department, assigned to this particular task in the same way that every military officer is ordered to specific duty, and not free to resign for personal reasons, nor because he prefers some other form of employment, nor in any way able to question the authority of the Government to keep him at this task until it shall see good reason to supersede him or promote him. And this use of army organization, discipline, and trained skill is only one more illustration that our regular military force is far more than a body of fighters waiting for a possible war, and that it may effectively be used as a means of constructive civilization. The plan which has been under consideration for placing a very large part of the actual work of construction under a general contractor was taken up by the Government, as has been already pointed out by The Outlook, not with any intention of giving over the responsibility of building the Canal to others, but because it seemed at least possible that, with the retention by the Government of large powers of supervision and of many governmental functions, the work might best and quickest be done in that way. At present, at least, it now seems that such arrangement is not advisable, but the failure of the recent proposed offer to contractors does not in the least prevent the United States from taking up later on the question of the desirability of having part or even all of the work

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offered assigned to general contractors after proper competition by them.

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Mr. Stevens's Resignation

The resignation of Mr. Stevens as Chief Engineer, while it makes it possible for the Government to use its army organization for the direct control of the work of construction, was received with genuine regret. There never has been any question that Mr. Stevens was doing efficient work on the Canal, and he has been praised cordially and repeatedly by the President and by all of the press correspondents who have studied conditions on the Canal. The form of contract which was recently submitted for bids was drawn up by Mr. Stevens, and that fact was acknowledged publicly and fully by the President. Both Mr. Stevens and Mr. Shonts had favored the experiment of asking for contractors' bids. The letter in which Mr. Stevens offered his resignation has not been made public, but various surmises have been published as to his reason. It is understood that he was extremely opposed to the acceptance of the bid made by Mr. Oliver and his associates. The Government followed his judgment as well as its own in rejecting that bid, and there seems to have been no reason why he should have supposed that the revised proposition by Mr. Oliver would be accepted, and in point of fact it was not accepted. It is thought, however, that Mr. Stevens was uneasy as to this, and that he practically threatened the Government with his resignation if his wishes on this point were not carried out. At all events, his letter seems to have been couched in such terms that there was really no alternative other than prompt acceptance of his threatened or conditional resignation. Other reasons assigned as probable causes for the resignation are Mr. Stevens's preference for private rather than Government employment, and his feeling that the work had now advanced to a point that did not make the future task of the Chief Engineer as important as it had been heretofore. It has also been said, upon what authority we do not know, that Mr. Stevens did not sympathize with the general policy of the Administration in regard to Government control of railways, and that this may have affected his action.

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Loyalty to Party

Inexperience in political transactions need not imply any lack of political wisdom. This fact was illustrated by a speech which Governor Hughes, of New York, made last week. It required discernment to understand that the Republican organization at Albany might profit by some instruction on party loyalty; Governor Hughes had that discernment, and the assembled Republicans received the instruction. Party loyalty, however, as the Governor described it, might not be recognized as such by some politicians. According to him, it is practically equivalent to sound public service. This is what he said:

> I have been a Republican from the time I came of age. . . . I do not condone any public wrong because it is committed by a Republican any more than I should were it committed by a Democrat. Nor do I think that loyalty to party requires support of anything wrong either in policy or in administration which we should feel free to condemn if the wrongdoing could be charged to those of a different political faith. . . . I count it the highest loyalty to the party to insist that the work done under Republican auspices shall be honestly done and well done, and that our record of administration shall not be smirched by either corruption or inefficiency. Organization is essential to successful effort, and no sane man would expect any political undertaking to be successful which is not skillfully organized and wisely managed. But the success of political organization will depend upon its ideals. . . . Give the people the idea that the main purpose of organization is to secure control for personal advantage or for favored interests, and sooner or later they will bring to grief the best-laid plans of the most astute leaders. But, on the other hand, convince them that organization is directed to the purpose of maintaining an honorable party policy and of promoting an administration of government in the interest of the people, and they will rally to its support.

Governor Hughes then rehearsed the figures recording the results of the elections in the State since 1894; and declared that these figures showed that on State issues the Republican party would be doomed to defeat unless it should give "new assurances to the people of

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its capacity to govern in their interest." The Governor, before closing, uttered a warning; we suggest that the leaders of his party have it framed and hung up in party club rooms. It is this: "No man is a friend of the Republican party who asks me or any one in authority to appoint a man or to retain a man who is not equal to his job." This plain reference to the principle on which he acted in recommending to the State Senate the removal of Mr. Kelsey, State Superintendent of Insurance, indicates how seriously Governor Hughes regards the case as a test of the competence of his party. The Outlook agrees with the Governor. Mr. Barnes, the leader of the Albany organization, who in the minds of many has attained the rank of boss, took occasion to give Mr. Hughes some practical counsel. He scouted the notion of valuing any public opinion except that declared by ballots. If Mr. Barnes had heeded Mr. Hughes's figures, he would have learned that they were all gathered from the ballot-boxes. From Governor Hughes's figures we select the following for example:

> While Governor Odell received 111,000 in 1900, his plurality in 1902 was short of 9,000. While Governor Higgins was elected by 80,000 in 1904, in the last election all the Republican candidates for State officers save one were defeated.

It will probably take some time for it to sink into the heads of many party leaders that this is really an argument for honesty and efficiency.

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Political Contributions by Corporations

There have been two criminal prosecutions against Mr. George W. Perkins, of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., arising out of transactions with the New York Life Insurance Company. One of these is still pending. The other prosecution was for larceny in paying money out of the funds of the life insurance company to the National campaign fund of the Republican party. Mr. Perkins paid the money out of his own funds in the first instance, but on account of the New York Life Insurance Company, and was afterwards reimbursed on the order of President McCall. According to the definition of the penal code of New York State, any officer in possession of money who appropriates the same to his own use or to that of any other person than the true owner is guilty of larceny. The charge against Mr. Perkins was that his act in contributing funds of the New York Life Insurance Company to the support of the Republican campaign came within this definition. The Court of Appeals, by a vote of four to three, holds that it does not come within this definition. Essential to the crime is the intent to despoil the owner of his property. "That is necessary to complete the offense, and if a man, under the honest impression that he has a right to the property, takes it, it is not larceny, if there be a colorable title. The charge of stealing property is only substantiated by establishing the felonious intent." Because this felonious intent is lacking, Mr. Perkins is adjudged not guilty by the court. Incidentally it is worthy of note that the evident reluctance of Mr. Jerome to institute these criminal proceedings against Mr. Perkins is justified by the decision of the Court of Appeals. There is no pretense that he obtained or expected to obtain any personal advantage by the contribution of the corporate funds to the Republican Campaign Committee, and, in the judgment of The Outlook, he is morally as well as legally acquitted of the charge brought against him. The law did not at the time prohibit contributions by corporations to the campaign funds. The contribution in this particular case was a misjudgment, and to that extent a misuse of funds, but a misuse of funds owing to a misjudgment by an officer is neither morally nor legally a larceny if it is honestly made for the benefit of the corporation.

❀

The Harriman Investigation

The testimony taken before the Inter-State Commerce Commission in New York last week, especially Mr. Harriman's own admissions, has set the whole thinking public seriously considering the right and wrong uses of railway capital. Whatever may be said of the definition and proper limitation of overcapitalization, it is plainly injurious that

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the controlling power of a great railway system should raise enormous sums on the credit of its present prosperity and future prospects, and apply those funds, not to improve or extend the road, not to secure stockholders by increasing the surplus, not to benefit shippers and patrons by lower rates, but to gain financial control of other railways through buying up their stock in Wall Street and juggling their finances with exorbitant profits to intermediate syndicates, individuals, and banking firms. Commissioner Lane put his finger on a vital point when he asked Mr. Harriman if he did not think that the law should intervene somewhere and should restrict him in his power to use money raised for railway purposes for the acquisition of other railways. But Mr. Harriman would not admit that the amount of the issue of a railway's securities should be regulated by law, and promptly acquiesced in the supposition that, if he could market enough securities, he would gladly absorb the Santa Fé, the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, and in the end spread not only over the Pacific but the Atlantic coast. This sort of thing has been acutely characterized as changing railway corporations from enterprises in transportation to a vast means of gambling in securities. What is objected to is not legitimate expansion, but the use of credit and capital to obtain new control of outside property, that in turn to be exploited to get something else, and so on indefinitely to build up a house of cards which would ill stand adversity; and in doing it to trample remorselessly over the interests of minority stockholders and of the public, to loot the new acquisitions, and perhaps to impair even the railway system for which the series of deals is made. In six months last year the Union Pacific bought over a hundred million dollars' worth of outside railway shares. What kind of attitude such operations lead to was shown in Mr. Harriman's cool reply to the question if he considered it right to put on the public $19,000,000 of common stock that would never pay a dividend. His "Did we ever say to the public that a dividend would be paid?" unpleasantly recalls the remark attributed to another railway financier, "The public be damned."

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What the Evidence Showed

The transactions which a general policy of absorption by purchase may involve are such as the famous Chicago and Alton "reorganization"—a term, assuredly, which may cover a multitude of sins. This has been extremely succinctly and, we judge, accurately described in the New York Sun's headlines as follows: "They [that is, Mr. Harriman and three associates, acting as a private syndicate] buy the road, issue $32,000,000 of new bonds, buy them themselves at 65, pay themselves a 30 per cent. dividend on their stock out of the proceeds, sell the bonds all the way up to 96, the price to the New York Life, increase the capital stock, and let Union Pacific have the preferred at 86½." And the Wall Street Journal thus ironically points out "a way to make money:"

> First, buy control of a railroad.
> Second, look over the books and discover the sums paid out of income for improvements, but which are charged to operation.
> Third, capitalize these sums.
> Fourth, pay yourself a dividend from the proceeds, in violation of law.
> Fifth, sell the road to a rival company after the cream has been skimmed.

How large personal profit the members of the Chicago and Alton syndicate made was not shown in evidence, for Mr. Harriman refused to admit the authority of the Inter-State Commission to ask this question and similar ones, and it is not yet certain whether the Commission will attempt by mandamus to compel him to reply. But even his wonderful clear-headedness must have sometimes left him in doubt in this deal whether he was acting for the interest of the Chicago and Alton, the Union Pacific, or E. H. Harriman. At all events, when the field was cleared the Chicago and Alton was "capitalized" at about three times the original amount, and its former eight per cent. dividend-paying power had practically disappeared off the face of the earth. Illinois courts may still have a chance to decide whether the bond issue (largely used to pay the syndicate members a thirty per cent. stock dividend) was valid,

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for the Constitution of that State has this provision:

> No railroad corporation shall issue any stock or bonds except for money, labor, or property actually received and applied to the purpose for which such corporation was created; and all stock dividends and other fictitious increases of the capital stock or indebtedness of any such corporation shall be void.

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Possible Future Results

Other testimony bore on the methods of acquisition by the Union Pacific of Illinois Central stock and Southern Pacific stock, and, apart from the methods of these transactions, the Commission is considering the bearing upon Union Pacific expansion of the provisions of the law which forbid mergers between competing railways. Mr. Harriman seemed to hold that the Commission was going beyond its powers in taking up the matter of general stock-buying by a railway (other than as it might constitute a merger with a parallel or competing line), and that it ought to confine itself to the question of rates. But the Commission clearly held that the relation between the fixing of rates and the capitalization and conduct of railways is intimate and interdependent; and if this view is sustained, the door is wide open for broad dealing with great public questions. Thus it is asserted that rates are relatively higher on the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific than on other roads, and that the reason is that money must be had to pay dividends on excessive capitalization put forth to buy up stock of other roads in the market. Such an allegation also as that the Union Pacific transferred three hundred thousand shares of Southern Pacific to Mr. William Rockefeller with a purpose to depress the price of the latter stock might fairly call for an explanation, because (if true, and as to this we have no knowledge) the deal might have had a serious effect on rates. All in all, out of a mass of testimony involved and contradictory, it seems probable that the Inter-State Commission has gathered material upon which it may very probably base legal action, and which certainly may afford material for one of the most important reports it has ever rendered, and this report may well include suggestions for general legislation by Congress relating to overcapitalization and the limitations of railway deals.

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Settling Chicago's Traction Question

Mayor Dunne, of Chicago, who was elected two years ago on the issue of immediate municipal ownership of street railways, has not been able to carry out what he promised. Instead, in the closing months of his administration, a settlement ordinance is passed over his veto, but it will not become effective unless ratified by a referendum vote April 2. The advocates of the settlement plan profess great confidence that it will meet with popular approval on a referendum vote. It was due to the activity of the Mayor and his friends in getting up a very large petition, however, that the people are to be afforded an opportunity of voting on the ordinance. There are really two ordinances, one running to each company, but they are so dovetailed as to make one comprehensive plan of settlement. The existing properties of the companies have been valued by experts, and an agreed price has been fixed of fifty million dollars. The companies are to put in such new money as may be necessary to rehabilitate the plants, estimated at forty million dollars. The city is to have the right to take over the property for municipal operation at any time on six months' notice by paying the agreed present valuation of fifty million dollars, plus the new money put in for rehabilitation, with an addition to the new money of ten per cent. for construction profit and five per cent. brokerage charge. The city also reserves the right to authorize another corporation to take over the property on specified conditions. Until the city does terminate the grant in one of these two ways, the companies are to remain in possession, give unified operation, and practically universal transfers. They are to receive upon their recognized investment an annual return of five per cent., after paying operating expenses, taxes, repairs, maintenance, renewals, and depreciation. Of the remaining earnings, fifty-five per cent. are to go to the city and forty-five to the

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companies. Provision is made for a board of supervising engineers to pass upon construction and management. This board must approve all contracts and may fix salaries. One of these engineers is to be selected by the city, one by the companies, and the third, Mr. Bion J. Arnold, is named in the ordinance. Mr. Arnold has been the city's expert adviser for several years past. Under the new arrangement he will also be the engineer in charge of construction, representing jointly the city and the companies. There are provisions for public accounting designed to enable the city to understand all the operations. The agreed valuation of fifty million dollars contains an item of nine million dollars for unexpired franchise rights. It is liberal to the companies also in that it allows them full value for some cable equipment that must be at once discarded. Five or six years ago the two systems now valued at fifty million dollars were represented by outstanding securities having both a par value and a market value in excess of one hundred million dollars. Mayor Dunne, who went into office as the champion of municipal ownership, has undoubtedly been the cause of weakening the municipal ownership sentiment in Chicago, not so much because of the extravagance of his pre-election pledges as on account of the weakness and incompetency of his administration generally. The work of Mr. Walter L. Fisher as special traction counsel is the single brilliant achievement of the Dunne administration, but that achievement the Mayor himself has now repudiated by practically forcing the resignation of Mr. Fisher. There is a striking difference between Mayor Dunne, of Chicago, and Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland, for the latter, with all his radicalism, is possessed of administrative ability of the highest order.

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High Speed on Railways

Last week another railway accident occurred, due to high speed, and resulting in a wreck similar to that of the Pennsylvania "flyer" the week previous. A Baltimore and Ohio train, running to make up lost time, left the rails near Connellsville, Pennsylvania, and, after bumping two hundred feet along the ties, was thrown into a ditch. The passengers broke the windows of the cars, and escaped just as the cars became ignited from the engine and began to burn fiercely. Vain efforts were made to save the engineer, who had been caught under his wrecked engine; he was burned to death before the passengers' eyes, and the fireman was fatally injured. About thirty passengers were cut and bruised. They were saved from a worse fate, for had the train happened to take a slightly different course after leaving the rails, it would have gone over a fifty-foot embankment. The accident may be of more use than most railway disasters have been, in impressing on the minds of the operators in ultimate authority the perilous condition under which fast trains in America are run. For the train fortunately included the private car of the Superintendent of the Pittsburg Division of that line, in which was a party of officials on a tour of inspection. Their opinion may be unanimous as to the thoroughness of their inspection! Of the one hundred and sixty-odd serious railway accidents during November, December, and January, most were not directly attributable to high speed, but a far greater portion were so directly attributable in the February list. Thus during the past fortnight popular attention has been graphically directed to this particular cause, and the effect has been realized, as not before, of lateral hammering against the outer rail, especially when single-spiked on ties of comparatively low elevation, whether the whole train be unexpectedly heavy, or whether the locomotive's center of gravity be lowered, as in the change from steam to electricity. Most laymen, too, learned with surprise that so important a company as the New York Central does not provide speedometers to the engineers of its fast trains. But not all companies err in this respect. For instance, on the Burlington the locomotive cab of every fast passenger train is so provided; furthermore, engineers are ordered not to exceed a certain speed-limit which varies on the

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various divisions; for example, where the road is well ballasted, double-tracked, and has heavy rails, the limit is sixty miles an hour; in other divisions it does not exceed fifty miles; nor are engineers allowed to run beyond these limits, no matter how far they may be behind time. Most railway operators would welcome the general introduction of such rules. But they will hardly be so introduced and enforced except by a power, not the railway, "which makes for righteousness." The Inter-State Commerce Commission has investigated one notable recent accident. We wish that it would investigate more, and answer, as the railways do not always, when men ask, "Were both track and train strong enough? Was the track clear? Were the signals apparent despite the weather? Were bridges and turnouts interlocked with the signals? finally, Was there obedience to orders among employees? If the Commission is too overburdened to undertake such investigation, fixing responsibility and prescribing remedies, then let us demand the institution of a Bureau of Railway Accidents in the Department of Commerce. In England a similar Bureau, conducted by eminent experts with mandatory powers, has induced such a spirit of confidence on the part of the railways that they practically invariably accede without criticism to the Government's recommendations.

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The Transvaal Election

The recently held first general election to the Transvaal Parliament—the Parliament created by the Constitution which was granted by letters patent in September, 1906—was to some degree like the Presidential elections in this country during the reconstruction period. The issues of the war of 1899–1902 were fought over again, and the campaign was further embittered by the fact that at the time the poll was taken there were between two and three thousand unemployed white men on the Rand; and this in spite of the fact that for months past there has been a large exodus from Johannesburg owing to stagnation in development work at mines where stamps are not yet at work. Excluding Socialists and labor men, there were three parties to the contest. The Progressives are the party of the great mining houses on the Rand; the Nationalist party is composed of British electors opposed to the enormous political influence which the mining houses have hitherto exercised; while the Boers at Johannesburg and Pretoria and in the rural constituencies are organized in Het Volk. There was a coalition between the Nationalists and Het Volk. These two parties united against the Progressives, and adopted as the chief plank in their platform a declaration that the one question on which the election must turn was, "Who shall control the Transvaal—the people or the mining houses?" The Progressives on their part insisted that the question was, "Shall the Transvaal be governed by the people of the Transvaal, or from Downing Street?" They were aggrieved by the action of the British Government in making legislation concerning non-European labor subject to review in London, and in the campaign they made no attempt to conceal their hostility to the Campbell-Bannerman Government. In this way the question of Chinese labor was forced to the front. The Nationalist and Het Volk coalition was successful, and General Botha, one of the foremost generals on the Boer side in the late war, will be the Prime Minister of the Transvaal. His victory is a striking illustration of the admirable spirit in which the British Imperial Government maintains liberty of thought and freedom of elections in its colonies.

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The Policy of the New Premier

Now that it has fallen to General Botha to constitute the Transvaal Ministry, much significance attaches to an interview which General Botha gave to Reuter's correspondent at Johannesburg for transmission to London on February 13. "British supremacy," Botha then said, "will be safer in the hands of the Boers than in those of cosmopolitan capitalists. We have fought and suffered grievously more than anybody else in this country. That is past, and no one is so foolish as to want it over again. The question of the flag and of suprem-

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acy have been settled for all time. They are both now outside politics. We are now concerned with our domestic affairs. Having got free government, our natural desire is, and our sole endeavor will be, so to govern that the country shall prosper and the two races be drawn together. At Vereeniging I signed the treaty of peace. I then solemnly accepted what is so dear to you—your King and your flag. They are now our King and our flag." General Botha further declared in this interview that Het Volk had no hostility to the mining interests on the Rand. He was equally emphatic, however, in his statement that Het Volk did object to the men who control the mines also controlling the political destinies of the Transvaal. He recalled the fact that when he was at Johannesburg with his commandoes in the early days of the war, it would have been possible for him to have done irreparable damage to all the mines along the Rand. "I recognized then, as I recognize now," he said, "that my people must look to the mines for help, and I protected the mines then; so shall I see that they are not injured now." This was preliminary to a further important statement—a statement that has much significance now that General Botha is Premier—regarding his attitude on the Chinese question. "This talk of wholesale Chinese repatriation regardless of consequences," he said, "is nonsense. I say emphatically that nothing shall be done to embarrass the mines so far as unskilled labor is concerned. We want to restore confidence in the country. Could we do that by crippling or hampering the mines?" As to the language and education questions, both of which have been the subject of much controversy and some apprehension in England as well as in the Transvaal, General Botha was equally explicit. "We want," he said, "to pursue a just and liberal policy. It is an accepted principle that English shall be the compulsory language." The statement about Chinese labor is perhaps the most important that General Botha made in this interview, for the question of Chinese contract labor has been and is likely to be again an acute one in the Transvaal. One of the first duties of the new Premier will be to attend the Colonial Conference which is to meet in London in April. The Premiers of all the self-governing colonies are to be at this third conference of the Empire; and General Botha will sit side by side with the Premiers who organized the colonial contingents to fight the Boers in the war of 1899–1902.

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Fruits of Christian Enterprise

There are now at least ten schools for girls in Peking. The leaders in this new work are "the sisters of princes, the wives and daughters of dukes, the families of some of the highest officials. A year ago there was not one such school as these outside of missionary circles." This fact speaks significantly for the intellectual enlightenment now advancing in China. It is just a hundred years since Robert Morrison, of Scotland, landed at Canton, the pioneer Protestant missionary. The inertia to be overcome was immense, but it has been overcome. This year it is proposed to erect, as the "Robert Morrison Memorial," a Young Men's Christian Association building costing $100,000. In the Peking schools some distinguished women are daily teaching daughters of the rich and poor together. Courses of lectures somewhat of a university extension sort have been given in the Christian churches at Peking, and largely attended by progressive men and women. A nephew of the Empress Dowager, Duke Te, regularly attended, and, of his own proposition, gave one lecture. Princesses came to the mission compound to lecture to women of all classes there, and social entertainments for the company by the ladies of the mission followed. This will be news to those who have been babbling about Chinese hostility to missionaries from America. The national spirit of Japan, and the growing strength of Christianity there, are both evinced by the recent action of the Japanese Missionary Society in taking upon itself the support of thirty native churches aided until now by the American Board. Thus declining further dependence, the Japanese church leaders ask the missionaries to work on in a ministry at large as associate evangelists. The need of such

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is curiously attested by an advertisement in a daily newspaper soliciting some Christian preacher to visit a certain town. The Japan Times lately remarked: "Among the thinking classes the need of a religion is beginning to be felt." Japanese laymen have organized the Okayama Missionary Society for evangelistic work in that prefecture.

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Christian Leadership in the Orient

It is noteworthy that American churches are repeating in the Orient the policy which nourished Christian institutions when first planted here. Harvard was founded to secure a supply of cultured leaders for a generation reared amidst the unfavorable conditions of a colony in the wilderness. Likewise, the purpose of the later founding of Yale was to train men for the service of Church and State. The type of Christianity which created the early American college is now establishing in many non-Christian lands colleges for the fertilization of the minds into which the seeds of spiritual life have been dropped, thus to raise up men and women capable of religious and social leadership among their countrymen. This has proved remarkably effective in Japan. Large sums have thus been productively invested in other lands also. What was done for the emancipation of Bulgaria by men who had studied in Robert College is a well-known instance. In China there has just been opened at Changsha, the capital of conservative Hunan, a province of twenty million people, an infant Yale, sustained by the Yale Foreign Missionary Society, broadly unsectarian, its officers mostly graduates of Yale. This is hoped ultimately to grow into a university which may do for China what Yale has done for America. Its faculty of seven enjoy the favor of the Viceroy and other eminent men disappointed with the results of sending students to Japan. These Christian colleges, in which the awakening touch of modern thought is felt amidst the combined influences of science and religion, set a standard for progress, and enjoy increasing respect. Evident as it is that education must go hand in hand with evangelization, it is certain that educational work must, for the present at least, be the main task of the missionary, while evangelistic work must be chiefly put upon the native graduates of the missionary schools, trained there for Christian leadership. And it becomes increasingly evident that under such leaders Oriental Christianity is not to be a close reproduction of its Western type, but to draw a distinctive quality from the soil in which it grows. Conservative observers like President Hall think it possible that Oriental Christianity "may ultimately advance beyond the West in spiritual interpretation of the doctrine of Christ." Givers to educational work should compare the varying productivity of a dollar in different fields. The sum required for one professorship in some American institutions would defray the entire charge of one of the ten colleges sustained by the American Board of Missions. These colleges are at the center of the educational system of every country they serve, and largely shape it, their graduates ranking with the best educated there. From the seminaries of the Board come the pastors and preachers needed by six hundred churches, besides the evangelists and missionaries of the native societies. Yet these seminaries cost the Board each an average of only $2,500 a year. It may be questioned if any institutions in our country exert so wide an immediate influence upon races, religions, and nations as these missionary colleges and seminaries.

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The Treatment of the Insane in France

Several humanitarian measures have been under consideration in the French Parliament in the present year. One of the most important relates to the treatment of the insane. The old law concerning the judicial and medical disposition of the insane goes back to the government of Louis Philippe, dating from June 30, 1838. It has been in existence, therefore, for sixty-eight years. It was a great improvement over previous statutes and was a crystallization of doctrines of the French Revolution developed under

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the influence of Pinel. It took the insane out of the category of animals dangerous to society and regarded them as human beings. Nevertheless, though the law was good for 1838, it has long been surpassed by the laws of other nations which have revised their system of treating the insane. It did not organize public relief in a manner sufficiently complete to promote the patient's cure, and it failed also to safeguard individual liberty sufficiently. Asylums were still too much places of restraint instead of hospitals for cure. The new law is not merely an amendment of the old. It is a synthesis of the progress that has been made with reference to the insane in these last seventy years. For the protection of the individual new formalities are imposed before commitment to asylums. The mere certificate of a physician does not, as formerly, suffice; but a detailed medical report is required, which is prepared with the knowledge of the Magistrate, the Mayor, the Justice of the Peace, or the Commissioner of Police. The report must be definite and precise, and must be sent to the director of the establishment and also to the Procureur of the Republic. Within fifteen days after the commitment there must be a new certificate, and the commitment to the asylum becomes definite only when the president of the tribunal has pronounced it. In case of opposition to such an order of the court, another expert medical examination is ordered. It is thus the doctors who decide whether a person is insane, but the commitment must be always a judicial process. There is provision also for surveillance of the insane who are committed to private institutions or homes. The new law, however, is not merely a safeguard for liberty; it is above all a curative measure. Provision is made in the same law for epileptics, idiots, cretins, and dipsomaniacs. The departments are obliged to establish within ten years asylums for the insane and special quarters or institutions for the other classes above named; and to provide for the organization of family colonies. The fundamental idea is that the conditions of life of the insane should conform as much as possible to the conditions of normal life and should thus exercise an improving influence.

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A Veteran Journalist

For the lifetime of a generation Marshal Huntington Bright, who died at Tarrytown, New York, last week, had been the editor of Christian Work; having as his special charge the editorial pages of the paper and largely writing them with his own hand. His devotion to his work and its variety and freshness were a constant source of surprise to his friends who knew how heavy was the tax on his vitality. His father was a man of literary tastes and poetic feeling, and the son was born with fine instincts, a high sense of honor, independence of judgment, and that quality of loyalty which binds a man's friends to him with bands of steel. He had a New England academy education, supplemented by special courses in Harvard College. He entered the army during the war, served with credit, and received the rank of major. Later he had very interesting experiences in the Far West. His best work and his ripest years were given to Christian Work, to which he brought the fruits of wide reading, a quick and versatile mind, interest in many sides of life, and a ready and effective style. He was progressive in thought, though never radical; he kept pace with investigation in science and scholarship, but always had his own point of view; he was a lover of literature, and especially of poetry; and he found immense delight in Nature, with whom he was on terms of intimacy. In the historic village of Tarrytown no one was better known or counted more friends; nor was any man a truer custodian of its traditions and literary associations. His talk, abounding in wit and full of suggestion, was the delight of his friends. He was one of the most gifted and active members of a literary club in the community which recently celebrated its thirty-ninth anniversary, and he was the first president of the Quill Club in this city. At a time when so much greed and vulgarity are coming to light it is a pleasure to recall the long and useful life of this high-minded gentleman of the old school, punctilious in all duties, honorable in all

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relations, full of unworldly charm of character.

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Lenten Meditations

As We Forgive

"Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us:" this prayer has been to some a stumbling-block. What! it is asked, shall we set a standard of forgiveness to the Almighty? Are we to go to God with boasting in our mouths, bid him note how merciful we are, and call upon him to be equally merciful? On the contrary, if we did not limit our petition for forgiveness by our own willingness to forgive, we should be guilty of effrontery. No request is worthy to be called a prayer which expresses a desire for that which we ourselves are unwilling to grant. The debtor who, while pressing those who owed him, asked his lord to remit his own debt, was guilty of a double offense; he was guilty of the debt and he was guilty of arrogance. A prayer for forgiveness uttered in an unforgiving spirit is a piece of brazen impiety. The petition, "Forgive us as we forgive others," is not only a prayer for pardon; it is also a prayer for a spirit of decent reverence.

There is, however, another reason why the petition for forgiveness is qualified by the degree of the forgiveness we extend to others. It lies in the fact that it is impossible for God to forgive us otherwise. The limitation is not in God, it is in ourselves. We can be forgiven only according to our capacity to receive forgiveness; and our capacity to receive forgiveness is measured by our ability to forgive. What is forgiveness? If it were remission of penalty, this would not be true. But forgiveness is something much more fundamental than that; it is the establishment, or rather the re-establishment, of friendly and intimate relations between persons. As it takes two to make a quarrel, so it takes two to achieve reconciliation. To be forgiven by God means to be once more in agreement with him, to have a spirit compatible with his spirit, to have a will like his will. An attitude of animosity toward our fellows, however, is inconsistent with agreement with God; it is the product of a spirit incompatible with his spirit, of a will unlike his will. He who does not love his fellow-men cannot be on friendly terms with the Source of all love. We must choose. If we wish to cherish our grudges, let us do so knowing what price we pay. If we really desire forgiveness, that is, really desire to be in right relation with our Ruler and Father, we shall hate the very notion of holding a grudge. There is no way by which we may walk humbly with God, unless we do justly and love mercy.

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Railway Overcapitalization

Elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook Mr. A. B. Stickney, President of the Chicago Great Western Railway, and Mr. W. L. Snyder, of the New York Bar and an authority on inter-State commerce legislation, discuss the question whether the Great Northern Railway Company is overcapitalized. The Great Northern Railway is undoubtedly one of the most skillfully planned and best-managed railway systems of the United States. Mr. J. J. Hill, who may fairly be called its creator and, under the present system of railway finance and operation, may also fairly be called its sole proprietor and manager, is a man of great force of character and possesses constructive genius of a very high order. His primary and laudable ambition has been to establish and administer a great industrial corporation which, by developing the commerce of the Northwest and the Pacific Coast, shall add to the prestige, prosperity, and the power of his country. Work of this kind is as truly patriotic and public-spirited as the work of the statesman who frames laws and policies for his country.

It is because of this very pre-eminence of the Great Northern Railway that we think it forms an appropriate and significant object-lesson in one of the great political controversies of the time—the controversy as to what shall be the relation of the railways to the Government,

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The debate as to whether the Great Northern Railway is overcapitalized or not is merely incidental to the main question. Some of the officers of the State of Minnesota—and Mr. Snyder agrees with them—think that the Great Northern is overcapitalized; that to protect itself against "cut-throat competition" it has bought the controlling interest in other railways at an excessive price; that in carrying on this competitive warfare it has been forced to neglect the needs of its own community; that to pay interest on capital issued to buy out competitors it has been compelled to discriminate and rebate in making rates to shippers. On the other hand, Mr. Stickney expresses the opinion, supported by tabulated figures, that the Great Northern's physical property could not be reproduced to-day for the bond and stock capitalization of the road; that a very slight reduction of the freight rates of the railways of the country would bring upon us a condition of disastrous bankruptcy; that the railways know best how to manage their own business; that they have been interfered with too much by legislation and by public agitation; and that if the people of the country push any further their attempt to find a new basis of relations between the Government and the railways, they will only bring disaster. We propose in this article to state four general propositions suggested by these two opposing views of a typical American railway system.

1. The importance to the whole American people of the continued prosperity and efficiency of the railways can hardly be exaggerated. The oldest man and the youngest infant in the land depend upon the railways for the necessities of life; rapid, safe, constant, and widespread transportation of goods and passengers is absolutely essential to all the interplay of modern civilization; the hard-working, thrifty, and industrious have contributed several billions of dollars to the construction, equipment, and maintenance of the railways. These investors need protection as well as the travelers and shippers. There is no such thing as legislation "against" railways that is not also legislation "against" the people. A farmer who supports a bill framed as an attack upon railway managers because he considers them to be his enemies is really making an attack upon himself. The interests of the railways are the interests of the whole people.

2. The railway builders and managers of this country have, as a whole, been public-spirited men who have contributed by their skill, their courage, and their energy enormously to the welfare of the whole country. They have, however, as a general rule, been allowed to carry on their work in accordance with the dictates of their own judgment. They have been supported generously by the people, not merely from private investments, but from the funds of general taxation. As a class they have grown to regard the railway business as a private business carried on under the laws which govern private business. Twenty years ago the average railway man regarded transportation as a commodity to be sold like any other commodity at a price fixed by the seller. If the customer does not like the price, let him leave it and go to some other establishment. Let the customer, the seller, and competition settle all questions of price; let the stockholders who are skillful enough to buy control of stock settle all questions of financial management; and let the Government keep its hands off.

3. Little by little the people of the separate States began to realize the financial, industrial, and political power of the railways. In a blind and groping way they attempted to protect themselves against the dangerous exercise of this power. They frequently passed laws that were unintelligent and unjust to railway managers and stockholders. Partly from instinct and partly educated by the railway leaders, the people of the country slowly but surely turned to free competition as the one great relief from the real and fancied evils of railway despotism. The whole tendency of State and Federal legislation was to protect, encourage, and revive competition, and to prohibit the railways from combining to destroy it. With keener insight and clearer foresight the railway managers of the country saw the destructive

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and weakening tendencies of free competition. They thereupon began to take protective steps by pooling—this was forbidden by law; by mergers and holding companies—this was forbidden by law; and now the railway financiers are endeavoring to control destructive competition by creating great systems under the ownership and management of one corporation. Mr. Stickney stands for the great system, but he wants it controlled by its president and board of directors solely. Mr. Snyder stands for free competition maintained by law.

4. The Outlook differs from both these experts. In our opinion, free competition in railway administration is an antiquated and useless method of transacting the railway business of the country. It is destructive alike to the interests of the people and of the railway. Natural law is against it, and statute-books full of legislative acts cannot maintain it. Combination and unification of management is the only method by which the rights and interests of shippers, travelers, investors, and managers of railways can be protected and preserved with justice to all. But these combinations, these railway empires, as the Wall Street Journal happily calls them, must be governed, not by their own independent sovereigns, but by the sovereign power of the United States, to use the phraseology of President Roosevelt.

Concentration of power and ownership is bound to come. It rests almost entirely with the railway managers of the country to determine whether that concentration of power shall be left in their hands subject to rigorous Federal regulation, or whether their opposition to Federal control shall result in the more drastic, and in our judgment more undesirable, form of Government ownership. How may Federal supervision of railways be exercised so as to control the evils of overcapitalization, stock-jobbing of securities, and irregularity and favoritism in rates, yet preserve all the advantages of private initiative, private management, and legitimate private profit? These questions and possible answers to them we shall consider hereafter.

Is Mrs. Eddy Sane?

Proceedings have been commenced in equity by Mrs. Eddy's next of kin to have a receiver appointed for her property on the ground that she is mentally incapacitated. These proceedings lend additional interest to the life of Mrs. Eddy that is being serially published in McClure's Magazine and to the volume recently published on Christian Science by Mark Twain. Neither of these publications can be regarded as exactly unprejudiced. Yet both seem to be written in a spirit of fairness, or at least with an endeavor to be fair. Georgine Milmine, in McClure's, gives full quotations to support all her statements; in truth, the quotations are so full as somewhat to impair the sustained interest of the narrative. And if Mark Twain mercilessly ridicules certain pretensions of Mrs. Eddy and her disciples, he ridicules only what is ridiculous, and treats the fundamental faith of the cult with entire respect.

There is some real ground for Mark Twain's ironical suggestion, "Let us consider that we are all partially insane." The doctors generally agree that a perfectly healthy body is a rare exception to the general rule; and we believe that the expert alienists do not think that a perfectly sound mind is much more common. But not every mental unsoundness constitutes an insanity of which the law can take cognizance. The question in the Thaw trial is not, Is Mr. Thaw's mind perfectly sound? Few persons would believe that it is so. The question is, "Was the unsoundness at the time of the homicide such as to render him morally irresponsible for his actions?" So the question in this case is not, Is Mrs. Eddy's mind perfectly sound? Few persons outside of her cult would doubt that she is "queer." The question for the court is, Has she the kind and degree of unsoundness which unfits her for the care of her property? Two quotations from Mark Twain's book will seem to illustrate very clearly this distinction:

Here fame-honored Hickory rears his bold form,
And bears [bares?] a brave breast to the lightning and storm,

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While Palm, Bay, and Laurel, in classical glee,
Chase Tulip, Magnolia, and fragrant Fringe-tree.

Vivid? You can fairly see these trees galloping around. That she could still treasure up, and print, and manifestly admire these Poems, indicates that the most daring and masculine and masterful woman that has appeared on the earth in centuries has the same soft, girly-girly places in her that the rest of us have.

But that is all that it indicates. It does not indicate that she is incompetent to look after her own interests in business transactions. On the contrary, the facts as stated by Mark Twain indicate that she is rather more worldly-wise in managing property interests than is altogether consistent with either her philosophy that matter is not real, or with that disinterested spirit which we ordinarily expect of a great religious leader. For Mark Twain analyzes the constitution of the Christian Science Church and the Metaphysical College and shows that the whole organization in all its parts and functions is subject to the absolute and unlimited will of Mrs. Eddy. President, Board of Directors, Treasurer, Clerk, Readers, Healers, all are her creatures, dependent for appointment on her approval, and some of them directly and all of them practically subject to removal at her pleasure.

The magnificance of it, the daring of it! Thus far she is
The Massachusetts Metaphysical College;
Pastor Emeritus;
President;
Board of Directors;
Treasurer;
Clerk; and future
Board of Trustees,
and is still moving onward, ever onward. When I contemplate her from a commercial point of view, there are no words that can convey my admiration of her.

We do not attempt to anticipate the decision of the court before which Mrs. Eddy is to be brought by proceedings which have been instituted to determine her mental capacity. We only define the issue, that our readers may clearly understand it. The question before the court is not, Is the Christian Science philosophy rational or erratic? nor, Is Mrs. Eddy well balanced or ill balanced? but, Is she competent to take care of her interests in the ordinary business transactions of life? So far as either Georgine Milmine's Life of Mrs. Eddy or Mark Twain's portrait of Mrs. Eddy throws any light on this question, they both indicate that she is a woman of extraordinary shrewdness, who has managed her financial interests with a skill which might be the envy of a Lawson or a Harriman.

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The Russian Revolution

There are two movements in this country for the relief of the Russian people. One, represented by Mr. Shishkoff, seeks to succor the famine-stricken Russian. The Outlook expressed its sympathy with that movement in its issue of February 23. Funds in support of it can be sent to the Rev. S. J. Barrows, 135 East Fifteenth Street, New York. The other movement is on behalf of the Russian revolutionists, and is represented in this country by Mr. Tchaykovsky and Mr. Aladin. A public meeting on behalf of this movement was held in Carnegie Hall on March 4, at which addresses were made by Tchaykovsky, Aladin, William Jay Schieffelin, Felix Adler, and George Kennan. The editor-in-chief of The Outlook presided at this meeting and made the opening address, which we here publish as an expression of the sympathy of The Outlook with the fundamental aim of the Russian revolutionists and its belief that Americans should give to them both moral and material support.

When an American invites his fellow-citizens to give their moral and material aid to revolutionists who are endeavoring to overthrow the government of a country with which his own country is at peace, it behooves him to state clearly and concisely the reasons for such action. The presumptions are always against war; they are always against revolution; they are always against interference in the affairs of one nation by the people of another nation. This threefold presumption must be overcome in order to justify the extension of moral and material aid to the

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revolutionary party in Russia. The reasons for extending such aid must indeed be very compelling. Before introducing to you the speakers whom you have come to listen to, I may be permitted to state very briefly the considerations which, in my own mind, have overcome this threefold presumption against the cause with which we are asked to identify ourselves.

The primary object of government is the protection of persons and property. We differ among ourselves widely as to other functions. Some of us are socialists and some individualists. We differ widely among ourselves as to the best form of government, and some of us believe, as I do, that there is no one best form, that different political organizations are needed for different communities and different epochs, and that is the best government which best fulfills its appointed ends. But monarchists, aristocrats, democrats, individualists, socialists, all agree in this, that the primary function of government is to protect persons and property. If it fails to do this, whatever its form, whatever other functions it may pretend to fulfill, it fails in that which is primary and fundamental and which justifies its existence. We may differ on the question whether governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, but no American questions that governments are instituted and should be administered for the benefit of the governed and primarily for the protection of their persons and their property, and few Americans will question the affirmation of our Declaration of Independence "that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government . . . and provide new guards for their future security." Because the Russian Government signally fails to protect persons and property; because it has become destructive of those ends for which governments are instituted among men; because the last vestige of hope that it can be so modified as to become an instrument for the preservation of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness has disappeared, we on this platform believe that it is the right and duty of the Russian people to overthrow their present government and to provide some new guards for their future security.

We are not here to protest against autocracy because it is autocracy, nor against bureaucracy because it is bureaucracy; nor to demand that the Russian people adopt our form of government or use our methods for the protection of fundamental rights; nor to insist that it shall extend its functions and become more socialistic or limit its functions and become less socialistic; nor even to demand that it shall adopt what we are accustomed to regard as fundamental guarantees of liberty, such as the separation of Church and State, a representative assembly, the responsibility of the ministry to that assembly, and the responsibility of both to the people through some form of popular suffrage. All these ideas we believe in, but we have no wish to impose them upon another people. We are here because we believe that the people of Russia have the right to have their persons and property protected by their government; that this is a fundamental right; and that it is palpably, flagrantly, and continuously violated by the Russian Government.

The indictment which our fathers presented against George the Third is insignificant in comparison with the indictment which the history of our times presents against the Czar of Russia. He has caused or permitted thousands of his Jewish subjects to be massacred in cold blood, and other thousands to be pillaged and driven poverty-stricken into exile. In a single year he has caused over thirty thousand persons to be fined, imprisoned, or exiled without semblance of trial. He has habitually allowed both men and women to be tortured within fortresses, and this when no definite accusation by any responsible accuser had been brought against them. He has allowed scores of villages to be pillaged, hundreds of homes to be burned, and unnumbered girls and young women to be given over to shameful violation. He has allowed massacres, planned or carried into effect by governmental authorities, civil and military, for the purpose of terrorizing the population. He has contemptuously disregarded the

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Constitution of Finland, openly and flagrantly broken his solemn pledges to the Finnish people, and made of what was once the most loyal and happy part of his Empire a disloyal and wretched province. He has plunged his country into an unjustifiable war of aggression, for which it was wholly unprepared; and has driven at the point of the bayonet thousands of Russian peasants to fight in a distant land for no other purpose than to gratify the greed or the ambition of court favorites. This war has been conducted without competence and without mercy—the Red Cross not respected, non-combatants frequently killed, the wounded often put to death, hospitals deliberately fired upon. He has allowed both in the civil and military administration a corruption unparalleled in modern times: soldiers furnished with shoddy clothing and insufficient and unfit food, a navy sent to sea so ill prepared as to fall an easy victim to the first effective assault upon it, and even bread sent into famine districts made of rotten flour and infamously adulterated with earth. When his people have marched to the palace appealing for relief, he has permitted them to be shot or sabered in the public square. When public clamor grew too loud to be disregarded, he has promised freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and freedom of worship, only to disregard each promise whenever the exercise of such freedom appeared inconvenient to any subordinate official of the bureaucracy. He has called upon provincial governors to report on the conditions of their provinces, promising them that their reports should receive careful consideration, and then has punished by dismissal from office or with exile governors whose reports were distasteful to him. He has convened an assembly of the people, promising them freedom of deliberation, and then has dissolved the assembly as soon as the debates became perilous to his autocratic power. He has proved himself equally unable to protect from the assassin the lives of his ministers and the lives of his peasant population. His policy has been as vacillating as that of Louis XVI., his promises as futile as those of Charles the First, his despotic exercise of authority immeasurably more intolerable than that of George the Third. The civilized world justly holds the Czar responsible for these high crimes, for they are perpetrated in his name and under his authority. If the Russian Government authorizes them, it is intolably despotic; if it is unable to prevent them, it is intolerably incompetent. In either case it is intolerable; and it is the right, it is the duty, of the Russian people to throw off such government and provide new guards for their future security. A political organization under which such crimes are perpetrated is not worthy to be called a government; it is organized anarchy.

Is it said that the Slav is unfitted for freedom? I reply that no people are fitted for despotism except they who supinely submit to it. Whether Russia is ripe for a republic is not the question; the question before us is whether the Russian is to hold his life and his property as a tenant at will of an unscrupulous bureaucracy. So far as I can judge, if I were living in Russia to-day, I should be a Constitutional Democrat. Anglo-Saxon temperament and tradition combine to incline us to take one step at a time; that one step for Russia would be the organization of an assembly containing in some form representatives of all classes and able to speak for them with untrammeled liberty of speech. But I am not here to express sympathy for any particular reform or any particular group of reformers, but for the Russian people, and for their common endeavor to throw off the yoke of their bondage and to secure for themselves, their homes, their wives, and their children the right to live in peace and security. Is it said that the evils in our own country are such that we cannot cast the first stone against another country? But this is no reason why we should not protest on behalf of those who in other countries are being stoned to death. Is it said that conditions in Russia are no concern of ours? Whatever concerns our fellow-men concerns us. Human brotherhood is not confined within the limits of church creeds, political boundaries, or race lines. Are precedents desired for that expression of popular sympathy which this meeting is convened to afford? They are abun-

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dant: in the sympathy of France for America in our Revolutionary War; in the sympathy of England, moved by the eloquence of Gladstone, for the Italians suffering under the oppression of King Ferdinand II.; in the sympathy of America for the Greeks in 1824, and for the Hungarians under the leadership of Kossuth in 1849; and in the act of Russia herself intervening in 1877 in the name of humanity to rescue the inhabitants of Bulgaria from the unspeakable Turk.

It is true that the criminal classes have taken advantage of the general disorder to pillage and murder; it is true that individuals aroused to a frenzy of despair by cruel oppression have employed assassination in private revenge; it is also true that some of the methods resorted to by secret revolutionary tribunals do not commend themselves to the American judgment and the American conscience. But we do not judge a revolution by the sporadic acts of violence which sometimes accompany it, nor even by the methods which the revolutionists sometimes employ; we judge a revolution by the causes which have led to it, and by the ends which it has in view. If revolution is ever justified, the revolution in Russia is justified by the causes which have provoked it; and the end that the revolutionists have in view—the substitution of a representative for an autocratic government—must commend itself to all who believe in justice and liberty.

Thus far I have spoken to you, my fellow-Americans, on behalf of the Russian people. In closing, I turn to these representatives of the Russian people and speak to them on your behalf and on behalf of the American people whom you here gathered represent. Gentlemen, we Americans do not identify ourselves with any particular group of Russian reformers; we do not stand as sponsor for any particular methods which any group may adopt; but we assure you and your compatriots of our sincere sympathy in your endeavor to overthrow the Russian bureaucracy and to establish in its place a government which will secure protection for the lives, the liberties, and the properties of the Russian people.

The Spectator

The Spectator's experience warrants him now in embarking on a street-car trip with a wonderful expectation. Not that his hope does not sometimes fail. An adventure would not be an adventure if it came every day. But all the elements of adventure are present in a street-car, and frequently they combine. There are human nature, uncertainty, an independent relationship, and, above all things, that transiency which gives such a zest to all undertaking, keeping the mind alert.

❀

The Spectator boarded a cross-town car at the ferry-house end of Twenty-third Street. There was the usual crowded wait while the outgoing passengers swarmed to the ground; then the incoming lot scrambled up. It will probably never be known what had happened in that mysterious car; whether some old-fashioned gentleman had been taking snuff, whether some housekeeper had spilt red pepper, what tickling sprite was abroad. But no sooner were all the passengers squeezed compactly into the seats and suspended from the straps than they began to sneeze.

❀

The performance was not obtrusive at first; anybody may sneeze in our climate. A young girl gave delicate utterance, her face in her handkerchief; a stout old man echoed her with resounding emphasis; a baby startled itself, interjecting; and two or three elegant ladies suffered distressing, abrupt perturbation in the midst of their dignified calm. Then gradually it became apparent to the vaguely awakening car that good sport was abroad. A perceptible wave of attention swept through the crowded company, working a genial relaxation. There was probably no event in the world which could so easily have reduced that assembly of technical strangers to their natural basis of friendliness as just this so human, so vulgar besetment, this ridiculous malady. So vulgar—that was the exquisite point. It appears that the searching tests of good humor are not elaborate situations in which one may stand on his dignity, but the commonest accidents of

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daily life. Perhaps it is better, in the long run, to grade one's dignity to the common level; then one can walk, not stand, on it. One can even safely fall down.

❀

The Spectator took an absorbing interest in watching the different occupants of the car serve their turns with the malicious plague. Some of them were quite frankly pleased; they contributed their ejaculations to the sum of the general humor with a laughing good will. Several were shyly embarrassed, deploring the public attention. But one or two were superbly scornful, and of course they furnished the best fun of all. One magnificent gentleman, in a high hat and a fur-lined coat, held himself grandly aloof in his manner, expressing a high disdain. "Well, of all the vulgar, disgusting proceedings!" his profile said quite explicitly, as he hung on his strap and gazed out of the window. The hopeful Spectator would not for the world have taken his eyes from him. Presently tiny tremors began to agitate the majestic calm of the classic countenance. The Spectator received an ecstatic poke from the market-woman who neighbored him. "He's a goner!" she chuckled, in audible tones. The proud lips tightened convulsively, the fine eyes blinked very fast; he had heard that chuckle, he tried his best, he would not, he would not—no use! Away went the gold-bowed eye-glasses on the spring of the most emphatic sneeze that the car had yet brought forth. Laughter? The people in the street turned to look, smiling vaguely in sympathy. "A Sunday-school picnic?" they asked one another. But the gentleman in the fur-lined coat pulled the bell-strap and dismounted, purple with indignation.

❀

The most of the passengers were now chatting amiably together. The eagerness of their intercourse had a pathetic significance, considering the stolidity with which they usually travel. So repressed are they by convention, poor things! The social atmosphere of the car was presently that of an afternoon tea—a very democratic afternoon tea, including all classes and ages. The Spectator remembers that he received excellent advice from his neighbor, the market-woman, as to the care of hens in winter.

❀

The initial impulse to friendliness meantime held on its teasing way. The charter members of the trip—if one may call them that—ceased to deride one another for their involuntary ejaculations; but they banded together to watch newcomers with a delighted expectation. The car stopped, and a young woman got on. She was very pretty. The Spectator rose, urged by a sudden protective desire to save her from her fate. It would surely be going too far to laugh at this fair young gentle thing. But she took his seat with an inclination of her graceful head, and presently, to his grief, he saw her face begin to quiver. Alas! He would have implored the people, if there had been time and means. But she sneezed in her film of a handkerchief, and all the people shouted. The Spectator will not soon forget the startled look of those blue eyes up into his face. What was the matter? What had she done? Then an inspiration seized him. He took off his glasses and sneezed five times with deliberation, punching a young man on the next strap with his elbow the while. "Sneeze, you fool!" he exhorted. The young man sneezed, and the whole car sneezed as well as it could for its laughter. As for the young woman, it is not known how much, if anything, she understood of the peculiar circumstance; but it is known that she had a frank and generous heart in which no pride or resentment lurked, for she joined in the general laughter until the tears stood in her eyes.

❀

Ah, well, that was a famous trip! The Spectator looks back on it wistfully, and almost resolves to carry a pepper-pot in his pocket to sprinkle all street-car aisles withal. It seems a pity, when so very little is needed to break down polite barriers, that that little should not be supplied. We have set ourselves a curious task of strangeness and silence. The Spectator supposes we might ride in a street-car to the Promised Land of Brotherhood—if we only would.

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THE RENASCENCE OF THE COUNTRY HOME

BY SYLVESTER BAXTER

IN recent years our American civilization has gained a new regard for country life. The present esteem for it, the hold which it exerts upon men to-day, the delight now taken by the many where once all but few found dreariness—these are recent phenomena. Among the more fortunately circumstanced classes, who up to within half a generation were distinctively city dwellers, it is becoming the rule to make their country residences their true homes. In the older parts of the United States, the sections where the greatest cities lie and where in general the urban population is largest, the trend of families to the country is the strongest. Massachusetts, for instance, is the most urban of all the great States. An enormous preponderance of the population lives in cities and in the urban-like townships that range all the way from six or eight thousand to ten or fifteen thousand inhabitants. It is precisely here, as well as throughout New England in general, that the tendency to return to the land is the strongest. It is also marked in the Middle States, in the pleasant Wisconsin and northern Illinois regions tributary to Chicago, and in various parts of California. Then in the country itself the wealth derived from the soil is universally developing the gentleman farmer—"nature's gentleman" in good earnest—with his college-trained sons and daughters; farming scientifically, fertilizing the land with brains, achieving the genuine refinements and the sensible luxuries at the command of the well-to-do; giving a National scale to the enviable traditions of the landed family that always have given a distinctive character to the Southern States. In all parts we find that now, as in England it always has been, the true home of a family is becoming more and more the country abode that with us originally was intended for only a few weeks' sojourn in the summer.

The character of the country house has therefore changed from that of a more or less provisional dwelling-place, however elaborate or elegant it may have been, to that where the home associations are the strongest and where the lares and penates of the household are permanently installed. The family turns to the country earlier in the spring, perhaps with the first faint unfoldings of the leaves. It lingers late in the fall, often through the pageant of the woodlands, until the trees stand bare, until the Thanksgiving feast is celebrated where most fittingly it should be, at a board spread where spreads the open landscape.

In turn the city house now becomes the temporary abode. Indeed, so indifferent to city life do many become that they content themselves with a well-furnished flat through the months of ice and snow. In this they find a dwelling sufficient to their needs while they enjoy the customary round of the theaters, concerts, and other social pleasurings, which, after the wholesome currents of country activity that normally have been flowing about them, leave them easily satiated with more artificial conditions of enjoyment.

It is not only the very wealthy who are thus turning to country life. The more moderately circumstanced are responding to the same influences. Their response would be even more general were it not that the problem of the schools impels a reluctant return to town at the very time when the soft September dusk imparts its snug coziness to the

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countryside, enhancing the sense of its intimate domesticity. The wealthy are little bound by such limitations; the older children go away to boarding-schools, the younger are governess-taught at home or wherever else the family may be tarrying. But with the great majority home must be where the school is. With the larger number it is happily the public school, the school where the sound lessons of democracy are imparted by daily experience. Even for the merely well-to-do the growing tendency in rural parts towards public school improvement is making the country home more and more possible. The little cross-roads school-house stands abandoned. Large and thoroughly equipped public schools are established at central points, with free transportation from the remotest sections by special omnibus or by trolley when available.

American country life, as originally it was even with us and has always and traditionally been in England, is becoming the normal and the essentially home life for those elements in the population that are not bound to the city by necessity or need. Even in midwinter the country home is not entirely forsaken. Not infrequently the young people, if not the entire household, open up the house and fill the rooms with domestic cheer, while for a week or so, perhaps, they enjoy the invigorating outdoor sports and indoor festivities of the season.

In the elaborate great establishments that in many parts, as in the Massachusetts Berkshires, are rivaling the homes of the British aristocracy, there is too often a life that in house-parties and with week-ends goes the pace that characterizes the same people everywhere—the unenviable life of which Mrs. Wharton has given us veracious pictures in her "House of Mirth." This elegant vulgarity of the excessively rich who fundamentally are too ignorant to know how to use their possessions intelligently, or otherwise than in costly feeding, luxurious dress, or extravagant display, is not the true country life that is growing up among us. Nevertheless, even this has saner aspects in the country than elsewhere. But our true country life gains its favor because of its naturalness, its freedom from and the various conventional restraints that are imposed by life in town. It should also be said that in many of our great country houses the family life, however leisurely, is wholesome, unconventional, democratic, and characteristically American.

The country home as a popular institution is made possible by reason of its increased accessibility. Fifty years ago even the immediate suburbs of our great cities were, in effect, more remote, more inaccessible, than the distant country is to-day. In Boston, for instance, street-cars had only just begun to replace the "hourlies"—the omnibuses that, plying at sixty-minute intervals between the urban center and places like Roxbury and Cambridge, were then deemed sufficient for the public needs. Even thirty years ago the more remote suburbs were served by trains that ran infrequently; "theater trains" only once, or at most twice, a week; no trains at all on Sundays. Now late trains run nightly to places twenty, thirty, and forty miles away; theater-goers reach their homes at the ultimate points as early as they used to get to the immediate suburbs in the old "hourly" days.

The electric trolley-car and the automobile, the bicycle, the good roads that are becoming the rule in many sections, are doing wonders to suppress the isolation that once made country life intolerably dull—a daily routine of vegetative monotony. The good-roads movement has spread to all sections of the country since Colonel Pope began his enlightened propaganda of twenty years ago. While, in this respect, some parts still remain literally in the Slough of Despond, in other sections there are now practically nothing but good roads. Massachusetts and New Jersey possess vast networks of perfect highways. The new South is awaking in this respect as in so many others. The improved highway, indeed, has become one of the great factors in the renascence of the countryside. It makes for sociability as well as for convenience and economy. It has given us the bicycle for errands as well as for most wholesome exercise; moreover, the whole family thinks nothing nowadays of jumping into an automobile to "go

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neighboring" for the day, announcing themselves by telephone and visiting friends not only in the next county, or the next but one, but even in the next State! It is now no more trouble to do this than it lately was to take the family buggy and jog along three or four miles to the next village, going at a walk, or at most a slow trot, to favor poor old Dobbin. Not only with the man of affluence, but with every well-to-do farmer, will it soon be the regulation thing to possess an automobile—in the latter case not the luxurious touring-car, to be sure, but at least a good runabout or some other motor-car equivalent of the buggy or the "carryall."

One great reason why country life has grown in favor so remarkably is because it has appropriated to itself so much that formerly was exclusively of the city. In recent years much of the best of the country has been brought to the newly enlightened city—frequent open spaces, abundant playground facilities, great public parks where the charms of the natural landscape are presented in their most ideal aspects. But there is a return wave, a reflux of corresponding energy. Thus the best of the city is likewise imparting itself to the country. Hence we have a "rapproachement" between the urban and the rustic. We are achieving the urbanization of the countryside. Indeed, do not certain modern tendencies suggest the total elimination of the city from the ideal civilization that we are growing towards? The age of the sky-scraper, to be sure, may not jibe with this idea. But the sky-scraper may be only a provisional institution after all. On the other side of the Atlantic it is not at all a metropolitan concomitant. While it means congestion of population, the great forces of quick transit are, on the whole, making for diffusion. Hence it seems reasonable to expect that the processes now at work will gradually transform all the inhabitable parts of the country into what in effect will be one vast and interminable suburban region—if "suburban" be not a misnomer where there is no urban.

Suburban life, in its best estate, as found in the aggregations of tasteful and prosperous homes fringing off into the country about some of our great cities, comes very near being the ideal life, the prototype for the Utopian conditions that the future should hold for us. We find it in the pleasant New Jersey regions, beyond the Harlem in Westchester County, or out on Long Island; in the famous cluster of Greater Boston communities, like the Newtons, Milton, Belmont, Arlington, Lexington, Winchester; and in the delightful rural margins of Philadelphia. Here are plenty of air and sunlight; tranquil surroundings; ample lawn and garden space, with trees, turf, and shrubbery; sociable relations with good neighbors, but not near enough to hear the dinner-table clatter next door or to receive involuntarily through open windows confidences as to family affairs.

The sort of suburb where the houses elbow one another and one has the undesired freedom of his neighbor's phonograph or mechanical piano-player—instruments which there generally play nothing but ragtime—affords homes worse in many respects than are made by city blocks, or even flats, where non-conducting walls and floors at least preserve the peace between dwellings. In the suburb as it should be, there are charming scenery and rural pleasuring all about, with attractive drives and delightful walks; a river or a lake, or an arm of the sea, for boating and bathing. Quick and frequent transit brings business within convenient reach, also the amusements and social pleasures of the city. Such life is wholesome; even when comfortable to the degree of luxury, as it may be, it remains unostentatious, more or less unconventional, and inherently democratic in its standards.

The extent to which the differences between the country and the city are diminishing is indicated by the fact that the yokel, the traditional rustic agape in the town, "Reuben," the "jay," is becoming rare. While the type is by no means extinct, it is now more familiar on the stage than in reality. In fact, the city, except in the matter of mere bigness, offers comparatively little in the way of absolute novelty wherewith to impress the average rustic mind of today. Abundant books, the same monthly and weekly periodicals, the same daily

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newspapers, cheap excursions, electricity for lighting and transit, have acquainted the countryman with the most essential things that the city has to offer. Like the American who visits London and for the first time sees St. Paul's and the Parliament Houses, he finds it all so familiar in pictures that it seems as if he had always known it. We have all heard the story of the country child returned from his first visit to New York. The most novel thing he had to tell about was the most out-of-date, back-number thing he saw—the ridiculous little horse-cars dragged by poky old nags! Many a country youth of twenty years cannot remember the time when trolley-cars did not run past his door or at least through his village. Likewise many a countryman in town to-day is disposed to sniff contemptuously at the prevalent and unhygienic gaslight. At home the neighboring waterfall not only illuminates his house for him cheaply; he even milks his cows by electric light! Many a village is ahead of the city in possession of up-to-date modern conveniences. Think of sojourners in the country dreading to return to town on that account! Times have changed since the days when the average country dweller had to break the ice in the toilet-pitcher mornings through the winter. Health in the country is better nowadays, also, as a rule, for cold air was by no means synonymous with pure air under those conditions.

The country-seat is an old institution in New England. Far back in the Colonial days the country residence reflected the life of "home," as England then was called by everybody this side the ocean. Such country-seats dotted the more immediate environs of pre-Revolutionary Boston. Not a few of them to-day stand like verdurous islands of fair and widespread acres amidst the sea of houses that metropolitan expansion has spread around. One such noble estate has remained in the hands of the same family for more than two centuries, its broad pastures still resisting the pressure exerted by waxing taxes to bring them on to the market at square-foot prices. All through eastern Massachusetts the same tendency is filling the idyllic landscape with stately country homes—twentieth-century heritage of the days when Sir Harry Frankland and Agnes Surriage lived so much of their romance at the Hopkinton estate. So we see dozens of out-of-the-way towns, their very names strange to the Boston ear until very recently, becoming all of them what Brookline was not so long ago—the seats of a rich and elegant life, the permanent homes of many an affluent household, families whose names stand with the choicest in the Blue Book. Not only Bostonians or the wealthy families of other centers of trade through New England have their country homes in these places. Neighbors on every hand are families from all over the United States, mainly from the West, but many of them hailing from the South and the Pacific slope. Altogether, this movement is converting New England into the great summer pleasure-garden for the Nation. The joy of living has to-day become a characteristic note of summer in the land of the Puritans. With the children of these summer residents from the West and elsewhere their country and seaside homes hold the deepest place in their affections. Every year they are impatiently eager to come back into the land of rocky hills, rolling pastures, pleasant bays, and the marvelous clear water of brooks and streams. They are as loth to depart. So they seize their first opportunity to make their homes where the soil claims their hearts. Consequently the numbers of the Western-born whose business holds them in the East are a subject for astonishment.

But our talk is properly of the movement countryward from the town, rather than from one section of our great land to another. The latter phase was merely instanced as a notable aspect of the general influence of the country's charms upon those who have been made receptive to them. The city-born boy finds in the country a wonderland, full of joyful surprises, inexhaustible in delight-making powers. The country lad first knows the town with a strange exhilaration, a quickening of his whole being. The rush and the whirl of movement, the roar of traffic, the human rivers in the streets, the ever-changing spectacle

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of the passing show, even the curious odors which arise from numerous activities in this quarter and that and blend into something indescribable that strikes his young nostrils with an unwonted appeal, not unlike that which the more grateful scent from the land has for the inward-bound sailor—all these intoxicate his soul. For years and years the country-born man may live submerged in the powerful currents of urban being. Their fascination is strong upon him from the first; it holds him for years in its thrall. But there surely comes a time when, sooner or later, the city's life palls upon him; the rush and the roar become intolerable; the din in his ears grows maddening, as of hammer and anvil in endless reiteration; the signs and the placards conspire to insult his eyes with frantic visual yells; the general coming and going are purposeless; it all seems a weariness of the soul, a vanity of vanities. Then suddenly he recalls with ardent longing the almost forgotten scenes of his childhood, the dull existence that once he turned his boyish back upon, as he hoped, forever.

Nevertheless he may from time to time have revisited the old scenes. Old ties could not so easily be severed. Family obligations called him back. Perhaps a sister married, an aunt died, an estate was to be settled. The intervals may have been infrequent, years lying between. Each time he noted the changes; occasionally when the local weekly fell into his hands he remarked with a faint curiosity the little doings of the neighborhood, the recurrence of the well-known family names that eventually came so largely to mean the children and perhaps the grandchildren of his old schoolmates.

At last it all rises up before him again—a tidal wave of emotion rolling in upon the shore of his soul and bearing him back upon its crest. The old recollections, the beloved old scenes, every remembered feature of them graven upon his heart: the dear old house so long forsaken, its unlighted windows gazing into his soul as in mute reproach; his mother's grave, and his father's—he went years before—in the quiet village cemetery! There is a tug at his heart-strings; the lure of the land has grown irresistible.

> "Upon all the hills broodeth rest,
> In the tree-tops the breeze maketh quest
> With scarcely a breath;
> The birds in the woodland are sleeping.
> Only wait! Soon wilt thou be keeping
> The long rest of death."

The perfect lines here imperfectly echoed in English were written by Goethe on the summit of the Gückelhahn in Thuringia. When the writer once stood there in his youth, gazing over the hushed Whitsuntide landscape at sunset, deep in the valley below a mill-wheel slowly casting its wreath of musical pearls, he felt how the ineffable peace of the scene must have drawn the poem from the master's soul, as now he feels how the same bond with nature must draw back to the Earth-mother her country-born child.

The return of the native to spend his remaining years amid childhood scenes brings a serene joy. Had he come prematurely, the absences, the vacancies left by old friends and companions, might have tinged the familiar scenes with melancholy. But now the vanished past lives again in his mind, together with the new-made present, that he readily grows into as he readapts himself to his native environment. It is indeed another village, another world, that has grown up meanwhile. But the old is also still there for him, just as the boy that once he was persists in his consciousness, as young as ever beneath the accrued layers of his elderly manhood. Indeed, a complex company of his former selves makes of his being a multitudinous composite. This induces in him a fraternal though unreciprocated recognition of comrades and playmates in the children and children's children of the Charlies and Hals and Willies and Susies and Mollies of yore.

He takes the old homestead in hand and makes it livable and comfortable, even luxurious, though respecting in the truest sense of the word the primal homeliness of it. Maybe there are additions meet for the prosperous state of the returned son—rambling annexes, verandas, bay windows, dormers. The beloved old-fashioned flower-garden is

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expanded and glorified. The touch of art soothes away from the place the austerity of old. Smooth driveways, paths pleasant to the feet, wind through gracious shrubberies. A friendly foreground honors the noble spreading landscape before the house. Indoors the sense of domesticity is enhanced. The fine old fireplaces have been unmasked and restored; their immediate successors, the gloomily ferocious stoves, are banished in favor of a kindly tempered heater in the enlarged cellar. The sense of domesticity is enhanced by the exposure of the sturdy ax-hewn timbers of oak, the ceiling plastered between—timbers that make the stout house good for another century or two.

The village and its life have changed correspondingly. In place of the dull monotony, relieved only by petty gossip and the meager interests confined within a narrow horizon, there is now a tranquil movement in touch with the great world outside. There is a tastefully housed public library, given by some world-prospered and grateful son of the place. The magazines and the best weeklies are generally taken in the village homes. The people find time to read, to think over and intelligently discuss the literature of the day as well as the great thoughts of the past. Few city folk have such time to give from their business and their distractions. Local activities are now of more account than they were.

Village improvement constantly gives new work, makes new duties, as its scope enlarges. The modern arts and crafts movement, reviving good old handicrafts and introducing new ones—weaving, basketry, wood-carving, metal-work, lace-making, cabinet-work—has made life more worth the living and given profitable occupation for many a village. In various New England villages colonies of artists have given themselves as leaders in the work with unselfish enthusiasm, and thus have enhanced the general charm of the scenes whose beauty first attracted them.

As to amusement, how the opportunities have increased! Everything that country life can yield in the way of pleasure has been availed of and developed. Old and young share in the benefits. Ball games in the old days were primitive compared with those of to-day. Then there is croquet, the first game to call whole families out of doors, and still held in deserved honor. Tennis, of course. And golf, the passion of old people as well as of the young. Every village of any account has its golf links, every town with urban pretensions and of proper quality its country club. Aquatic sports add themselves thereto—boating, canoeing with paddle or with sail, knockabouts, sailing dories, power-boats, and larger craft of all types. Every lake or decent stream is a paradise for amphibious youth and for men who thereby prolong their youth. Then the delights of the open road. The bicycle, pleasurable and immensely useful, is with us to stay, though the "craze" has departed. It has revolutionized country life in important aspects, and has made possible its legitimate successor, the motor-car. Who knows how soon human flight, only just now achieved with the motor-driven aeroplane, may not introduce a wonderful new element of recreation and of utility into country life, annihilating space for transit almost as effectively as the telephone has done it for speech? The latter, indeed, has become one of the greatest boons for the country, bringing whole neighborhoods into immediate contact, the lone farmstead into the village world, and promoting human solidarity as few other things have done since the railway movement began.

It is not only the affluent to whom the blessings of country life are possible. The instance of a mechanic known to the writer is typical of many. He married a wife from a Cape Cod town. His wages amounted to about $1,200 a year. The wife inherited the old home. The very day that school closes she leaves for the Cape with the children, and they stay till the end of vacation, to the joy and health of all. Some day the place will be the permanent home of the elders; the children will have gone out into the world themselves, returning perhaps after many years to the dear old spot, as so many are doing in these days.

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Railway Overcapitalization

In its issue of February 9 The Outlook published an article entitled "Railway Overcapitalization," by Mr. W. L. Snyder, of the New York Bar, which has attracted more than usual attention from its readers and its newspaper contemporaries. A large number of correspondents regarded it as an attack upon Mr. J. J. Hill and the Great Northern Railway Company. A savage editorial in the New York Sun and a more courteous but not less intense editorial in the able Wall Street Journal expressed the opinion that Mr. Snyder was writing in general ignorance of his subject. The fact is, as will be seen from his article printed herewith, that Mr. Snyder had made a careful and expert study of the facts from a legal standpoint. In its issue for February 23 The Outlook disavowed, both for Mr. Snyder and for itself, any intention of throwing aspersion on Mr. Hill's honor, good faith, public spirit, and genius as a constructive railway man. We are, therefore, glad to give Mr. Stickney's account of the material prosperity of the Great Northern Railway a prominent place in our pages. The sensational examination of Mr. E. H. Harriman by the Inter-State Commerce Commission directs public attention to the whole subject of railway operation and finance with new force at this time, and we ask those who desire to know what The Outlook's attitude on the subject actually is to read the following papers by Mr. Stickney, Mr. Snyder, and Professor Fisher, and the full expression of our own editorial opinion which will be found on another page.—THE EDITORS.

I.—A DEFENSE OF THE GREAT NORTHERN

BY A. B. STICKNEY

President of the Chicago Great Western Railway Company

BACK in the sixties of the last century, when Jay Cooke undertook the construction of the Northern Pacific Railway, northern Minnesota and North Dakota, including the Red River Valley, were generally considered almost worthless for agricultural settlement. To correct this impression, Mr. Cooke organized a party of correspondents of many important Eastern newspapers and sent them on an exploration trip to see for themselves and write up the country as they saw it.

The party rendezvoused at Minneapolis, and made a sort of "royal progress," with carriages, saddle-horses, and camping outfits.

All the correspondents except one made notes of the characteristics of the country from day to day. When the party had reached the fertile valley of the Red River, the leader called aside the correspondent who did not make notes, and, with considerable anxiety, said: "I see you are taking no notes. I hope you are not 'going back' on this country when you get home." "Going back on this glorious country!" says the correspondent; "not by any means. I am taking no notes because when I get home and start to write I don't want to be 'trammeled by facts.'"

It would appear that many, and perhaps most, of the newspaper and magazine writers on the problem of railway rates and the capitalization of railways have the same feeling. They do not investigate facts because when they begin to write they don't wish to be "trammeled by facts."

A conspicuous illustration may be found in The Outlook of February 9, 1907, in an article entitled "Railway Overcapitalization." Speaking of the Great Northern Railway Company, it says, as a premise of fact upon which to base the general argument:

> It formerly earned and paid to its stockholders, over and above all fixed charges and expenses, $2,100,000 annually, or seven per cent. on its $30,000,000 of capital stock. Its earnings gradually increased to $4,200,000 annually. Instead of paying fourteen per cent. on the $30,000,000 of original stock, it issued $30,000,000 additional, without legal authority and in direct violation of the laws of Minnesota, and paid seven per cent. on the $60,000,000. Its net earnings increased

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to $6,300,000 per year, and its stock was again increased to $90,000,000. The earnings grew to $8,400,000 annually, and the stock was increased accordingly to $120,000,000. The net earnings soon exceeded $10,500,000 annually, and another increase of $30,000,000 of stock was issued, making the aggregate value of the stock at the present time $150,000,000, on which it pays the handsome sum of $10,500,000 annually, or seven per cent. on this entire issue. But so great has been the growth and development of the country that this company now seems to be earning net every year $14,700,000, which will justify an additional increase of $60,000,000 of stock, as the increased earnings will enable it to pay seven per cent. on $210,000,000, instead of on $150,000,000, the amount of its present issue.

The commercial history of the world affords nothing to equal this wonderful exhibition of economic achievement, which has been duplicated in like manner by the other great transportation corporations of the United States.

The quotation conveys the impression that the present property of the Great Northern, with $150,000,000 of stock outstanding, is the identical property, and no more, which it possessed at the time when the writer says it had $30,000,000 of stock outstanding, and that the sole purpose of issuing the additional $120,000,000 of stock was to enable the company to distribute its earnings to the stockholders without appearing to pay more than seven per cent. dividends.

The statement is so obviously untrue that the writer must be regarded as belonging to that class of sensational scribblers who never allow their pens to be "trammeled by facts."

The following tabulated statement, compiled from Poor's Manual, shows the number of miles and the stock and bonds outstanding on the 30th day of June of each year; also the dividends paid during each year:

	Miles.	Bonds.	Stock.	Dividend Paid.
1890	3,006	$65,735,000.00	$20,000 000.00	None
1891	3,292	67,966,000.00	20,000,000 00	3¼%
1892	3,417	69,149,200.00	20,000,000.00	5 "
1893	4,257	103,435,754.54	20,000,000.00	5 "
1894	4,328	105,080,454.54	25,000 000.00	5 "
1895	4,496	105,279,354.54	25,000,000.00	5 "
1896	4,498	105,433,254.54	25,000,000.00	5 "
1897	4,559	106,141,854.54	25,000,000.00	5 "
1898	4,698	112,669,454.54	25,000,000.00	6 "
1899	4,996	97,239,454.54	89,226,610.00	6¾"
1900	5,418	96,577,454.54	98,413,500.00	7 "
1901	5,451	96,683,454.54	98,711,750.00	7 "
1902	5,849	97,975,454.54	123,853,000.00	7 "
1903	5,888	97,190,454.54	123,996,750.00	7 "
1904	5,951	96,648,454.54	124,129,250.00	7 "
1905	6,110	100,753,939.39	124,365,625.00	7 "

The statistics for 1906 are not yet published in the Manual.

In 1890 there was outstanding, in addition to the $20,000,000 Great Northern Railway stock, $20,000,000 stock of the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railway Company, all of which except $359,500 has been acquired by the Great Northern Railway Company.

In 1890, therefore, the total bond and stock capitalization was $105,735,000; in 1905 the total capitalization was $224,725,126, making an increase in sixteen years of $119,490,126.

In 1890, when the total bond and stock capitalization of the Company was $105,735,000, its 3,006 miles of railway were prairie lines in Minnesota and North Dakota. During the sixteen years between 1890 and 1905, in which its total capitalization increased $119,490,126, it has constructed 3,104 miles, including the expensive lines over the Rocky and Coast ranges of mountains to the Pacific coast, and expensive lines in the mountains, and has expended large sums of money in improving its former prairie lines and in the purchase of equipment, and in enlarging and improving its terminals.

It has built steamships which sail on the Great Lakes and on the Pacific Ocean.

Its terminals at Minneapolis-St. Paul, at Duluth-Superior, and at Seattle are superior to all others. At Duluth-Superior, in my judgment, its facilities for handling grain, including its elevators, are superior to the facilities of all the railways in the cities of Baltimore, New York, and Boston combined.

That Mr. Hill had the genius to build a line across the unsettled plains and the mountains to the Pacific in 1890–93, without a land grant or other Government aid—a feat never before accomplished—and to build in sixteen years over three thousand miles, and made the improvements specified by only doubling the capitalization, seems to the people of the West a "wonderful exhibition of economic achievement."

The facts in respect to the capitalization and property of the Great Northern afford no evidence of overcapitalization.

The writer has not always agreed with Mr. Hill upon railway problems, but fair play is fair play, and fair argu-

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ment in the discussion of economic problems is always "trammeled with facts."

The public seem to demand "untrammeled" sensation. Perhaps the writers might be able to make equally sensational articles showing how the people are being robbed, by the railways' collecting too high rates, based upon the following facts:

(1) The 215,506 miles of railway in the United States carried in 1905, 28,706,734,960 cwt. of freight. A reduction in rates of 6¾ mills per cwt., regardless of the distance hauled, would have reduced the net income of the railway companies $14,566.98 more than the aggregate amount of their dividends.

(2) A further reduction of 9.06 mills per cwt. would have reduced their net income $10,000 more than the aggregate amount of interest which the railways paid on their bonds and other indebtedness.

It is altogether probable that if these insignificant reductions were made by legislation, and the majority of the roads were thus forced into bankruptcy, a tremendous sensation would be created.

II.—THE CASE AGAINST THE GREAT NORTHERN

BY WILLIAM L. SNYDER

Of the New York Bar, and author of "Snyder's Annotated Inter-State Commerce Act" (Baker, Voorhis & Co., New York, 1906)

An article which I contributed to The Outlook of February 9 on "Railway Overcapitalization" has been widely criticised by financiers and misreported by the newspapers as an attack upon the Great Northern Railway. It was not an attack, but a simple statement of the present tendency towards railway overcapitalization as illustrated by the history of the Great Northern. There is nothing in my first article to justify the assumption that the additions to the capital stock of the road were not made for cash received. On the contrary, my assertion was and is that the cash so received from the stockholders was used for buying up competing lines at a high price instead of for properly developing the main lines of the Great Northern itself.

Two suits have been instituted recently in Minnesota which throw more light upon modern methods of railway capitalization than has yet been brought out by legislative investigation.

The first of the recent Minnesota actions referred to was brought by the Attorney-General of the State to enjoin the issue of $60,000,000 new stock by the Great Northern Railway, a Minnesota corporation, until the company had secured the consent of the State Railroad and Warehouse Commission.

The second suit grew out of the first, and was brought to forfeit the charter of the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railroad, which it is claimed has been absorbed by the Great Northern, upon the ground that in permitting itself to be swallowed up by a rival company "it has ceased to perform the functions for which it was created, and has, therefore, forfeited its right to exist as a railroad company under the laws of Minnesota."

The facts made public in these suits would seem to justify the conclusion that stock has been issued from time to time by the Great Northern Railroad which has been used to absorb rival competing lines in order to establish a monopoly in transportation, by perfecting a trans-Canadian system to be operated in connection with the American lines north of the Union Pacific from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Ocean. The American system includes the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, and the Chicago Burlington, and Quincy, which latter has been absorbed by the two companies first named. The Canadian lines operate from Winnipeg westward across the continent to Vancouver. The combined systems would, if the transaction is carried out, embrace a monopoly in the transcontinental railway system west of the Mississippi, including the greater portion of the continent of North America. It appears also that these important

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operations are being carried forward at the expense of the American commerce which is dependent on the Great Northern and its branches. These have been neglected to such an extent that they are entirely inadequate to meet the demands of the increasing population, and thousands have been ruined and sustained direct financial loss by reason of the lack of railway facilities, which it was the duty of the Great Northern, as a public carrier, to furnish.

In the first suit to enjoin the issue of $60,000,000 Great Northern stock, all that was required of the defendant in order to end the litigation was to file a written application with the Railroad and Warehouse Commission of Minnesota requesting permission to issue the stock, show the necessity for it and the purpose for which the proceeds were to be used. Instead of complying with the law, the Great Northern filed a statement with the Minnesota authorities in which it was set forth that the proceeds of the new stock were to be used to take up the bonds and stock of its subsidiary separate or leased lines. It was said that part of the funds were to be used (*sic*) to build new lines to form a nucleus for a new trans-Canadian railway, projected westward from Winnipeg to Vancouver. The subsidiary companies whose stock and bonds were to be absorbed were the Dakota and Great Northern, the Montana and Great Northern, the Billings and Northern, the Washington and Great Northern, the Portland and Seattle; the Vancouver, Victoria, and Eastern Railway and Navigation Company; the Brandon, Saskatchewan, and Hudson's Bay Railway Company, and the Midland Railway Company of Manitoba.

Of these the Dakota and Great Northern is one hundred and forty-three miles in length and is leased and operated by the Great Northern. The Montana and Great Northern has about the same mileage, and is also leased and operated by the Great Northern. It is claimed that the latter company now owns the stock of the Washington and Great Northern. These various lines are all embraced in the comprehensive trans-Canadian project.

In view of the fact that the Great Northern has failed to furnish proper and adequate facilities to meet the necessities occasioned by the vast increase of population along its own route, which dereliction of duty has resulted in financial loss and ruin to thousands, the Great Northern now promises, with a portion of the proceeds of the sale of the new stock, to increase its mileage, trackage, and terminal facilities, by building a good second main track, acquiring new terminals, and reducing grades along the line.

The Governor of Minnesota took it upon himself to ask the President of the Great Northern the cause of the failure of his corporation to discharge the public duties for which it was chartered. Mr. Hill's explanation is significant. He says:

> The discrepancy between the growth of traffic and the additions to railroad mileage and the extension of terminals, shown by new mileage of less than one and one-half per cent. a year since 1904 to take care of a traffic increase averaging eleven per cent. a year for ten years past, presents and explains the real problem.

Does it? In view of the fact that Mr. Hill's corporation since its original issue of $30,000,000 has sold new stock to the extent of $120,000,000, and now has stock outstanding to the extent of $150,000,000 which yields a net income of seven per cent. or $10,500,000 annually to its stockholders, the inquiry which presents itself is, What has been done with this capital? How is it that the Great Northern, with its millions of new capital and increased earnings, has increased its mileage less than one and one-half per cent. a year, in view of the fact that its business was increasing tenfold that amount annually?

The answer may be found in the developments growing out of the second suit brought to annul the charter of the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railroad Company on the ground that it is merged in the Great Northern. On January 25, 1907, two days after Judge Hallam granted an injunction to restrain the new issue of Great Northern stock, Chief Justice Start, of the Supreme Court of Minnesota, issued a writ of *quo warranto* to compel the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railroad Company

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to show cause why its charter should not be forfeited, because it was absorbed by the Great Northern, which now claims to operate the road under a lease. The Attorney-General claims that on February 1, 1890, the stockholders in both companies were identical; that the Manitoba Company transferred to the Great Northern all of its property at a price largely in excess of its true value. In other words, that the Great Northern paid a premium of $5,000,000 in the purchase of the stock of the Manitoba Company. It is claimed that the Manitoba property was purchased with stock of the Great Northern Company, which latter stock, it is alleged, was unlawfully issued and is what is familiarly known as watered stock and upon which dividends are being paid.

For these reasons the Attorney-General claims that when the Manitoba Company, on February 1, 1890, assigned its property to the Great Northern, "it ceased to perform the functions for which it was created, and has, therefore, forfeited its right to exist as a railroad company under the laws of Minnesota." The charter of the Manitoba road was originally granted May 22, 1857, by the Territory of Minnesota to the Minnesota and Pacific Company, which became bankrupt in 1879; and the Manitoba Company, with the approval of the Legislature, purchased its road and franchises. The Territorial charter contained a provision that the road should never pay in taxes more than three per cent. on its gross earnings, and it was claimed that the Manitoba Company acquired the same right. In 1905 the tax on railways in Minnesota was raised from three to four per cent. on gross earnings, which the Great Northern was called upon to pay. As the Manitoba road was practically merged in the Great Northern, the latter claimed, in order to escape the increased tax, that, notwithstanding the merger, the Manitoba Company was still in existence. The Attorney-General assumed to test this question in *quo warranto* proceedings against the Manitoba.

The Great Northern claims also that there are outstanding 3,400 shares of Manitoba stock held in England, France, Spain, and Holland, by parties who refused to assent to the merger with the Great Northern, to whom the latter guarantees and pays six per cent. dividends.

But the claim of the Attorney-General is that the Great Northern, which was chartered originally in 1856 as the Minneapolis and St. Cloud Railway, and rechartered September 18, 1889, under its present charter, is nothing but a holding company, owning directly no mileage, but, through its ownership of a number of subsidiary companies and the control of their stock, and controlling also the Manitoba, the Eastern Railway of Minnesota, and a number of other lines by virtue of perpetual leases, has secured a monopoly of the carrying trade in the vast territory extending from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Ocean, both in Canada and in the United States.

It is obvious that the Great Northern, as far back as 1890, used part of its illegal stock, as well as the proceeds thereof, to secure control of the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Company. It is clear also that the proceeds of stock issues were used to acquire control of a number of subsidiary lines above referred to, which form part of the trans-Canadian system. Here, then, we have an answer to the question put by the Governor of Minnesota to the President of the Great Northern—an answer which discloses the reason why "additions to railroad mileage and the extension of terminals, shown by new mileage" has increased less than one and a half per cent. a year since 1904. The population in the United States along the route of the Great Northern and its branches—Minnesota, the Dakotas, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington—has increased over one hundred and ten per cent. since 1897. The capital of the company which was originally represented by a stock issue of $30,000,000 is now represented by stock aggregating $150,000,000. Instead of this capital being used to increase mileage, trackage, and terminal facilities, as public duty required, in order to accommodate communities which have grown up and settled along the line of the road, and which are entirely dependent upon it for their individual welfare and commercial success, the capital has

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been used apparently to absorb rival lines, destroy competition, and build up a railway monopoly affecting a territory embracing nearly half the continent. Communities which have established themselves relying on the good faith of the carrier to discharge its public duties are permitted to suffer because, as there is no other rival competing line and no other railway, they cannot get to market. Their grain is in the fields or in elevators being eaten up with storage charges, the products of the factories are not promptly transported, the product of the mine is not promptly shipped for want of adequate facilities. In many localities the community is practically stranded for lack of carrying facilities, because the carrier has failed to live up to the obligations imposed upon it by law. Commerce, instead of having free play, as the result of competing lines of communication, is subjected to unlawful restraints and monopolies which are forbidden by the express terms of the statute.

III.—STOCK WATERING

From "The Nature of Capital and Income," by Irving Fisher, Professor of Political Economy in Yale University (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1906)

We have considered two ways through which the book-value of capital, surplus, and divided profits may exaggerate the true condition of the stockholders' property; namely, through misfortune or the unforeseen shrinkage of the assets, and through misappropriation of stockholders' funds, even when stock had at the outset been issued at par. There remains to be considered a third way, namely, through the issue of stock below par, or for services, patents, etc., at unduly high prices.

To illustrate this way of overvaluing capital, or "stock-watering," suppose a company to be capitalized at $200,000, and that this company issues at the beginning 1,000 certificates of the par value of $100,000, but sells them for only $60 per share actually paid into the treasury. Here is $60,000 paid-in capital, represented by $100,000 face value of stock certificates, leaving a margin of $40,000 "water." Suppose, further, that another block of $100,000 of the stock is given to an inventor for his patent, the real value of which is only $10,000. Finally, suppose that bonds are issued to the extent of $300,000, and are floated at par. Then the company has received in actual cash only $360,000. Of this sum only $60,000 has been received from the stockholders. The patent, which has also been contributed in return for $100,000 of stock, and which is worth only one-tenth of that sum, makes the total balance due the stockholders $70,000. But, the company is capitalized at $200,000. Consequently it will be necessary for the bookkeeper to exaggerate the assets to the extent of $130,000.

He may do this as follows:

ASSETS	
Plant [cost $360,000]	$400,000
Patent [worth $10,000]	100,000
	$500,000
LIABILITIES	
Bonds	$300,000
Capital	200,000
	$500,000

Here $90,000 of the exaggeration is put under patent and the remainder in an overvaluation of the plant. Many other methods of stock-watering are possible. A common one is to allow the plant to run down; *i.e.*, to fail to make proper repairs, while retaining its old book value in the balance sheet. A railway may be "skinned" in this way, by diverting to dividends what should be paid to a depreciation account. This operation, however, is not commonly called stock-watering, but mismanagement.

It is sometimes said that stock-watering is not wrong, as long as all the terms and conditions are known. This is much like saying that lying is not wrong, provided everybody knows that it is lying; for a false balance sheet is only one form of a false statement, and, ordinarily, a false statement is made with

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intent to deceive. The object may be, for instance, to mislead intending bondholders by making them believe that there is a larger security for their loans than actually exists. We see here one reason why honest men often *under*value their assets. They prefer, if there is any error in their valuations, that the error shall be against themselves rather than in their favor; in other words, that their representations as to financial strength shall be well within the truth. Yet it not infrequently happens that undervaluations of assets may, like overvaluations, serve the purposes of dishonesty—to "bear" the speculative market, for instance.

Many attempts have been made to prevent the frauds which result from stock-watering. For instance, the State or National Governments compel publicity of accounts in the case of insurance companies, National banks, and inter-State railways. The stock exchanges require similar publicity in regard to "listed" securities. Any company whose securities are listed on the New York Stock Exchange must publish its assets and liabilities at stated intervals. But this rule is too general to be very effective. In some cases the law requires the entire nominal capital to be paid into the company, in cash or securities at their market value, as in the case of National banks.[1]

[1] Revised Statutes, § 5140 (Act June 3, 1864, § 13).

THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE GOOD

BY WILLIAM DE WITT HYDE

"The friendship of the good, and of those who have the same virtues, is perfect friendship; good people being both good absolutely and good to one another. Such friendship, therefore, endures so long as each retains his character; and virtue is a lasting thing.—*Aristotle, Nichomachean Ethics, viii., iii, 6.*

The title to our new-found wealth, Dear Friend,
  Runs with the power to make our hearts more free,
More generous, more gentle; to the end
  That all may share God's gift to you and me.

I see thy features in each human face;
  I hear thy mandate in each civic call;
I own thy kindred in the lowliest race;
  I love thy likeness in the souls of all.

Thou shalt seek me where noble duty draws;
  Thou shalt find me where kindly mercy leads;
Thou shalt serve me in serving the just cause;
  Thou shalt love me in doing lovely deeds.

Our friendship for each other lasts so long
As both shall love the right and hate the wrong,

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HOW IS IT WITH THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION?

BY WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

Why is it that Americans do not definitely take the side of the Revolution against the Czar? Americans have always been in full sympathy with every people struggling for freedom, they have always expressed that sympathy and they have often succeeded in making it felt abroad—we need go back no further for an example than the war with Spain. Why does not our sympathy definitely take the side of the people in their struggle against the Czar? Why are we remaining more or less neutral at such a moment? Americans are suspending their judgment about the Revolution because they have not yet received a satisfactory answer to three great questions: First, Are the Russian people united and do they know what they want? Second, Are they making every effort to wage an organized warfare against the Czar, after the manner of the recognized revolutions of history? Third, What is there that Americans can do about it? The following article by Mr. William English Walling is written in reply to these three questions.—THE EDITORS.

FIRST, the Russian people are united and they know what they want. No people, in fact, was ever more united during a revolutionary period than the Russians are to-day. The scope of the struggle is immense; so large that probably no human mind has yet grasped its full significance, or is likely to do so for many years to come. There is only one issue, and at the same time there are an infinite number of issues. Czarism has suppressed in the Russian people everything that a civilized people holds dear. In struggling together against Czarism the people are struggling for the right of development, not in any one single direction, but in almost every direction that can be named. The professors are struggling for academic freedom; the peasants for land; the workingmen for the right to organize; citizens for the right to govern themselves; publicists for the right to speak and write; and the people at large for every elementary human right, for not one is safe at the present time.

As a result, there are as many parties as there are groups of people which emphasize one or another aspect of the struggle. But it by no means follows that these parties are struggling against one another. In fact, there is no possibility of fundamental confusion. The objective of every liberal, radical, and revolutionary organization is to take *all* the power away from the incompetent, immoral, and murderous régime that is at present in control. All oppositional parties are agreed that the Government has never listened to any argument except that of violence, that the past warfare of the people against the Government, whether the best possible or not, has been entirely natural and justifiable, that no one but the Russian people itself should be consulted in the regeneration of Russia, that the Duma or the constituent assembly should have absolute and supreme power, and that a system of universal suffrage should be established, by which the common people should control the destiny of the nation.

This is the situation. Unity is its necessary and inevitable consequence. But this unity also exists in fact. Various revolutionary and oppositional organizations sometimes feel bitterly against one another for what they consider to be a misinterpretation of the main purpose of the revolution, or a dangerous error in the method of the fight. Nevertheless, they remain generally united, and the practical result is simply that there has been an unconscious and unwilling but nevertheless a perfectly definite division of labor between the parties. The Liberals or Constitutional Democrats have provided the parliamentary organization and the leading parliamentary ideas; the Peasants' Union and the Labor Group have directed the

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peasantry into politics; the Social Democrats have organized the general strikes; the Social Revolutionists have organized such guerrilla fighting as is already going on, and are most actively occupied with the immediate preparations for insurrection.

The unity is a matter of fact. Perhaps the half-dozen most noted of the moderate liberals in Russia are Gutchkov, Shipov, Heyden, Trubetzkoi, Lwow, and Stachowich. These men are the most moderate of Russian public men, and within the past year all have taken a very prominent part either in the Duma or in governmental functions. All are opposed both to the Government and to open revolution. None are ready to go as far as the Constitutional Democrats, who in many indirect ways have aided and are aiding the active insurrectionists. Yet at the present moment five of the six are willing to co-operate with the revolutionary parties against the Government in the elections. Gutchkov alone remains in the conservative party—that of the 17th of October—and wishes to *put down the revolution first.* The others, members of the Party of Peaceful Renovation, all see the absolute necessity of *putting down the Government first.* Alone among men of public reputation, Gutchkov stands in favor of the Government.

The leader and organizer of a group a little more progressive than these, but still rather more moderate than the Constitutional Democrats, is Maxim Kovalevsky, well known as a professor and publicist to the people of England, America, and France. Mr. Kovalevsky is the editor of the second most important liberal paper in Russia, The Strana, of St. Petersburg. In a recent number, speaking of the necessity of co-operation with the Social Democrats, he said: "There is only one question in Russia to-day. That is, whether Russia is to be a European or an Asiatic nation; whether the people are going to continue to be slaughtered like cattle or not."

In the coming elections all the liberal and revolutionary parties will act together. There will be many different combinations and a great many different names, but the common action will nevertheless be effective and united on the great charter of Russian freedom.

For the Russian people have already got their Magna Charta, and the outside world does not seem to know. We must recall the remarkable unity of the last Duma. The address to the throne, it will be remembered, was signed by all but an insignificant minority of its members. In the voting on every important question proposed in that address the majorities were overwhelming—sometimes the vote was unanimous, sometimes the majorities were four hundred to one, to three, five, or six. This unity was secured not only by the powerful pressure and intelligence of the Constitutional Democrats who occupied the center, but by the full recognition of the necessity of unity by both of the extremes. After the Duma had dissolved, both the most active and the most peaceful extremes were more than ever impressed with the necessity of making the great fight on the basis of the address to the throne. Whatever agitation and discussion of other revolutionary objects may be in the air, all the wise leaders of every oppositional and revolutionary party are at one in the necessity of concentration for the Russian Magna Charta, the address of the Duma to the throne.

Second, the Russian people are doing everything in human power to wage an organized war against the Government. It could hardly be possible that a nation as united as Russia in its general objects, and even in the methods of their attainment, should fail to appreciate the importance of organizing physical effort.

The revolutionists know that in the bloody crisis which must inevitably come a larger part of the army can be relied on to remain neutral and that a certain portion will even come over to the revolution. They hope, therefore, that it will be perfectly possible to wage with growing success a guerrilla warfare against the Government. In the Baltic Provinces, in the Caucasus, and to a certain extent in Poland, this warfare has already begun, and the Russian people are wholly in sympathy with these rebels of a foreign race. There is no disagreement on the advisability and necessity of bringing the guerrilla war over into Russia as soon as the Government has finally refused to deal with the coming Duma.

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This organized warfare is, like the national unity, not only a necessity of the situation, but it is a fact. There is already a high degree of organization in the guerrilla war in the Caucasus, the Baltic Provinces, and Poland, to say nothing of the splendid success of Finland, which won its temporary and partial freedom precisely because the people were drilled and armed. Arms are being landed now in Finland, the Caucasus, and the Baltic Provinces in shiploads of several thousand rifles each. Arms are being imported into Poland from every part of the Austrian border, even to a new species of dismounted machine gun. Already there are hundreds of thousands of automatic revolvers in the people's hands. At the present rate of organization there will soon be as many rifles, and the time will have come for the guerrilla warfare to spread from the outlying provinces into Russia proper. When it does so, it will find ready to aid it a peasantry that has already broken out in rebellion in a thousand different places during the last year, and a splendidly organized railway union, ready not only to strike at the proper moment, but to do what is an absolute military necessity of the situation—that is, effectively to destroy the lines.

But we must remember that this organization is necessarily slow. The Government is executing several hundred revolutionists a month, sending tens of thousands to Siberia every month, and every month locking other tens of thousands in the Russian jails. With its system of hundreds of thousands of police, Cossacks and spies, well paid by money the Czar has borrowed from abroad, the Government is able to throw almost inconceivable obstacles in the way of the movement.

Third, Russia is united and waging the most intelligent and practicable form of warfare possible under the circumstances. But what can aroused and sympathetic Americans do? This question also will soon be answered.

There are at the present moment in America, or will be within a few days, prominent representatives of every one of the most important political parties of Russia. For some months the newspapers have been full of the speeches of Levine, the representative of the moderate Jewish party, and of Lieber, the representative of the more revolutionary element. Leading representatives of the Social Revolutionary party, which has done the most effective work among the peasantry, Tchaikowsky and Gerschunin, have been in the country for several weeks. Aladyin, the leader of the Labor group and one of the most prominent men in the Duma, an excellent speaker in English, will soon be here. Within a few days there will arrive a typical and representative Constitutional Democrat, a member of the central committee of the Zemstvos and a member of the Supreme Council of the Empire, who resigned, however, as soon as the Czar refused to deal honorably with the Duma, Mr. N. A. Shishkoff. Mr. Shishkoff also speaks excellent English.

Each of these men has been telling or will tell the American people what they can do for the Russian cause. Mr. Shishkoff, and of course all the others as well, is most anxious to get financial aid for the pauperized and bleeding Russian people. Mr. Shishkoff has made an appeal for relief which has already appeared in The Outlook. Contributions may be sent to Mr. S. J. Barrows, 135 East Fifteenth Street, N. Y. City.

But all will stand together in favor of the latest movement for the support of the Russian people abroad—namely, the national protest that is now being prepared against the horrible manner in which the Czar is waging the internal war, slaughtering, torturing, robbing, and violating the people. This protest will not settle the revolution, but it will have a tremendously useful effect. Mr. Kennan's book on Siberia, for instance, is appreciated by every educated Russian. Its influence, they all agree, cannot easily be expressed in words. Every organized foreign protest against Russian conditions has had its immediate effect inside of Russia. So sensitive is the Government to foreign opinion that, with one or two exceptions, every foreign writer or correspondent going into Russia has been treated with courtesy by the officials in spite of the fact that a large majority have been clearly and fearlessly hostile to

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the Government. There is no question that the Government is most sensitive to foreign opinion.

Let everybody who is moved by the terrific and tremendous conflict that is going on in Russia express himself freely and openly on all occasions against Czarism. Let every one read the illuminating speeches and statements made by the accredited representatives of the Russian people now in the United States, and attend, if possible, the meetings that are being held in this country. Then let every one join in the coming protest of all the enlightened peoples against the unspeakable atrocities of the Czar!

WHEN THE FEVER WAS AT UIST

BY EDITH RICKERT

Author of "The Reaper," "Folly," etc., etc.

IT was when the fever was at Uist that Father Murphy came to the island; and he knew no more of the state of affairs than did the Pope himself. The secret had been kept well. There were only the steamboat-men to carry the news abroad; and they, knowing that it is unlucky to spread the news of disaster, were as mute as haddock. So throughout the summer they were fighting the sickness all over the island, and some won through, but more were buried; and with the turn of autumn Father Murphy came.

Very young he was, empty of experience, and full of good intentions. So when Father Tulloch developed a bad lung and had to be sent southward, there was an interregnum long enough for the fever to creep in from—God knows where—before the Powers-that-be decided which young priest should be sent to cut his wisdom-teeth on the savages of the West.

So the Bracadaile had a first-class passenger as she plowed up The Minch; and although the sailors looked at him crossways for a while, as being an Irishman and no apparent lover of the sea, they granted him a degree of admiration when, obviously seasick, he hung out on deck and would not yield. But so much of his fortitude was used up in the conflict that he did not venture upon conversation until the ship turned into smooth water, and the captain himself came to the wheel for putting into the harbor.

"You know this place well?"—the Irishman lisped a little.

The big brown Norseman looked at him, drew his conclusions, and said, laconically: "Born here."

"Looks—a good sort of place." Conscience would not permit more praise, as the young man turned his blue nose and spectacles towards the clump of huts among the heather.

"Ay."

"Good land?"

"No bad."

"And the people?"

"Why, they're just like other people whatever," says the captain, with a touch of scorn.

"You see, I've come to take Father Tulloch's place."

The captain's eyes, bent upon the ecclesiastical garments, seemed to say: "Do you take me for a fool?" But aloud he was more polite: "Dear, dear! . . . I'm a Free Kirk man myself." He was silent but for giving orders, until the engine was stopped and his part was over. Then said he:

"You'll know about the fever?"

"What fever? I had not heard. . . . Is it bad? Do they die of it?"

"Ay, that do they." The captain watched him, then twisted his mouth into a grim smile: "It'll no be safe to land, ye ken. If ye like, I'll take you on to Dunvegan. . . ."

But he was left in the middle of his sentence. The new priest was ashore with a glossy fat bag in each hand.

He was met by a shuffling old man whose eyes did not meet his glance.

"Sir, it was Ian MacPherson was asking me to meet you, the day—"

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"Is it the fever?" interrupted the priest.

"Nobody will be seeing him since the Sabbath," said the other, unabashed by the previous lie that he had told.

"And you are afraid to go to his house?" asked the priest again.

"Afraid, is it? Na, na. It's just the judgment of God, I'm thinkin', and them that has it must abide."

"Look ye," said Father Murphy, and although he was still blue from the sea, his face had authority. "I don't know what kind of doctor ye have in this God-forsaken hole, but it's clear to me that something needs doing to change this state of affairs. And ye can tell him or not as ye like."

And in this rashness he justified the wisdom of the Powers-that-be, in sending him where he could do as little damage as possible.

That night, while he sat by his study fire and listened to the roll of the sea, he questioned and cross-questioned his housekeeper; and at the same time they of the post-office questioned and cross-questioned the old man who had fetched him from the boat. And on both sides it was pretty well decided that there was no love to be lost.

When Father Murphy came down to his breakfast the next morning, he found the doctor waiting in his dining-room. He seemed to the priest like a wind-blown furze-bush with two gleams of the sea through the tangle. And if the doctor had sought for an image in his own mind to describe how the cleric looked to him, he might have used that of a bluebottle fly in spectacles.

"I'm told," began the doctor, abruptly, "that ye've been making me pretty compliments; and I've just looked in to give ye my thanks."

It was no wonder that the young man stammered and failed to explain himself, thus taken by surprise.

The doctor listened, with the glimmer of sarcastic laughing in his beard: "And now that ye've come, ye'll give an Irish *whisht*, and the fever will just take wings and fly away to Skye, or maybe to Strome Ferry, where the doctors are as wise as the priests."

But Father Murphy hung on to his point, somewhat as he had clung to the ship's rail, in the teeth of the wind, the day before.

"How many cases are there?" he got out.

"Huh!" said the doctor. "Nine or ten among the Catholics."

"But altogether?" persisted the priest.

"Maybe thirty-seven—unless there's fresh ones this morning."

"Then I repeat that's it's a pretty state of affairs," said Murphy, with heat.

"And I agree with ye," retorted the doctor, still more hotly. "And I say it's none o' my doing!"

"But you pretend to care for them all!" was the challenge.

"No pretense about it. I do what I can."

"And they die on your hands!"

"Am I their Maker? They are born and they die. I go my rounds the day. What more?"

"What more?" said Murphy, stumbling over his words. "What more? I'll tell ye. Ye should have sent word to the proper authorities and had the thing taken out of your hands. . . ."

He stopped for breath, and the doctor took up the word, beginning with portentous slowness: "Ye callow loon—" Wrath conquered him: "Damnation! I'll not take it from ye!"

But the priest would not retract a word. "Ye should have got help from Glasgow—"

"Glasgie, is it?" He broke into a roar of laughter that shook the room. "And now, since ye've come here to teach me my business, I'll just go straight and get help from Glasgie—oh, ay, ay!"

His laughter rumbled down the passage, and he himself was gone before the priest could find another word.

This was the first encounter between them; but they had many another while the fever was at Uist.

Father Murphy spent most of the time before the next mail-steamer touched in gathering the facts and presenting them, as best he might, in a letter to the authorities. This despatched, he began to consider how he might help his people. At first, indeed, he tried services and sermons; but the church continuing almost empty, he hired a pony, loaded

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her to the best of his judgment, and began to make a sort of round, with food for the convalescent, oil for the dying, prayers for the dead.

Frequently he met the doctor, likewise burdened, with saddle-bags full of food and medicine. They exchanged curt greetings, but never a word more.

"Opinionated young fool!" mumbled the doctor in his beard.

"Cross-grained old idiot!" was the unpriestly phrase for which Father Murphy had sometimes to do penance.

One day, at the post-office, he heard it said that the Widow McCaskill, who lived seven miles along the seaward hills, had not come as usual for her pension letter. Of this, it was agreed, there could be but one explanation. Sick at heart for expectations of his own that had not been fulfilled, Father Murphy set out on foot, his pony having sprained her knee.

It was a wonderful hot day for October, the air as thick and close as in August; and by the time that he had covered little more than half the distance the priest was clean exhausted, and sat down in the shade of a rock among the heather. There he fell into a despondent muse, whence he was aroused by the padding of a horse on the sandy road below.

Dr. Campbell pulled up, and looked at him with a sarcastic smile. "Ah," said he, politely, "I've been meaning to ask ye this long while—heard from Glasgie yet?"

The priest went red with anger. "If the postmaster told ye the one thing, he might have told ye the other," said he, not without spirit.

Campbell gave a nod that might mean anything, and rode on, with a reluctant spark of appreciation in his eye.

But the priest was thoroughly sick of himself, and of the mess he had made of his first appointment. He sat on among the dying heather, wondering if he ought to give up and ask for some other sort of work. As a student he had had a pretty taste in illuminating missals; but this had not helped him much in his dealings with men. When it came to a contention with barbarians like this savage doctor, he felt that his strength was like that of a spent swimmer in rock-surf.

He was stirred by a drop of rain on his forehead. One of the strong sudden showers of the Hebrides had gathered in the tension of the atmosphere.

As he rose and looked about for shelter, he was aware of a woman, bent under a great load of peat, standing in the road below him. He had a feeling then that she had been there some time, perfectly quiet under her burden, looking up at him with gray eyes as luminous as agates in the dull brown of her face. He judged her young, chiefly because she bore no marks of age. She was barefooted and bareheaded, and the new-risen wind drove her coarse, straight black hair in long ribbons across her face.

"Fine day," said she, with the usual salutation, and added, "but it will be coming on to rain soon, and our house is just over the brae."

He thanked her and jumped down into the road; and then she added, shyly, looking at him out of the corners of her eyes: "The doctor was telling me there was a new priest come; but I will never be having time to go to the church."

At the door of the loosely piled stone hut, its thatch overgrown with grasses and wall-flowers, she would have *shooed* away the chickens fluttering in to take shelter from the storm; but the priest said, with feeble humor, that they should be allowed to stay, being of the same family with themselves.

He sat dreamily on a three-legged stool in the dark cottage, while his hostess knelt to blow into flame the peat embers of the round hearth in the center of the room, and hung the kettle, as the smoke poured out and filled the air.

"It is the storm makes it fall," said she, with an apologetic smile.

And he, coughing a little: "It is all like Ireland."

She took down from a peg a little baking-board, and got out flour and other things.

"What is this?" he asked.

"Some scones to your tea," she said, shyly; and before he could make any answer, the rain was upon them with a terrible beating and rush as of another Deluge.

For all the smoke, there was the cheer

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of red fire-glow in the room; and the priest was content to be silent, but felt it his duty to make conversation:

"What is your name?"

"Ishbel."

"And your father?"

"He is a fisherman. He will be at sea the day."

"And your mother?"

She was dumb, and he hastened on to, "You have brothers and sisters?"

"Five, and all at school now. But it's thanks to the doctor that I have them still to bless myself with. It's no more than a month that three of them was down with the fever, and he took the others away to his own house, and sat up with the three at the worst . . . Oh, if ever blessings should be poured on any man's head . . ."

By this time the scones were browning in the ashes, and the tea was made in the brown pot on the hearth; and Ishbel had brought out cheese and heather-honey, and was a little aggrieved that her guest would not listen to talk of an egg.

"It's the doctor that has always an egg," says she, "and he'll be coming now any minute on his way back from the Widow McCaskill's—poor thing!"

He stirred out of his dream: "But I am mad. It's myself must be getting on. I set out this afternoon for Borve. . . ."

The door burst in, followed by a drift of rain and the doctor in seaman's oil-skins.

"Hey, lass," he shouted through the smoke, as he brushed the rain from his eyes, "I've tied up Brown Bess in the cow-shed. What's this? A man?"

He compressed his lips as he recognized the priest, and in silence hung his dripping coat and hat upon a peg and took the other three-legged stool.

Ishbel looked nervously from one to the other as she began to give them their tea; and when she found that neither man would speak to the other, her anxiety grew into distress. She tried little piteous sentences that each answered in turn directly to herself; but she was too stupid, it seemed, to make them talk to each other.

At last, in despair, perceiving that the rain had ceased, she flung wide the door. Both looked at the vision that swept in upon them of distant amethyst hills, of leaps of light upon the road, here sparkling with broken quartz, there overrun with a rush of amber burns that streaked the brae where no water had been before. Far away they could watch the retreating footsteps of the storm over the fallow sea.

"Can ye look at that," said Ishbel, coming back to them in a little glow of indignation, "and not speak to each other, and good men both, whatever?"

Then began Father Murphy: "I bear no grudge . . ."

The doctor's laugh interrupted him. "Nor I. But I must be off, or Brown Bess will catch cold."

When he led his beast round to the front of the cabin, the priest was ready with an awkward little speech of conciliation.

"Words—words—words—" exclaimed Campbell, rudely, and sprang into the saddle. "*Cl-lk*," he said to Brown Bess.

But even as she moved away he turned and listened again and looked sharply.

"Words?" said he. "It's sheer babble. Blest if he hasn't got it himself! Ishbel, if your five brothers and sisters can spare ye a bit, ye'll just follow after. Ye'll be needed, and the Widow McCaskill will do very well, for her daughter-in-law came last night. Now, my man, ye'll up here."

Quite how he managed it none of the three remembered; but the next moment he had the dizzy, swaying youth before him on the horse; and Brown Bess, a little surprised and a little cross, was nevertheless answering his *cl-lk* in her usual steady fashion.

That night the news was told at the post-office, and thence spread like thistle-down in the wind, that the new priest was taken bad, that his housekeeper was gone to her sister's at Borve, and that Ishbel was come over the hills to nurse him. And they said then that he seemed a good sort of young man whatever, though nothing to Father Tulloch, and that if he had not been an Irishman maybe . . . But there was none among them that did not wish him recovery.

However, it was little enough they knew of the struggle that went on in the sick-room between the three of them and the fierce disease, or how they came to

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understand one another in the fighting. . . .

It was all over the island one day that priest and doctor alike received important-looking letters. And it was Dr. Campbell himself that carried them up to the sick-room. "One for you," said he, gruffly, "and one for me. How many times did you write?"

"Three," said Father Murphy, when they had read the two documents together. "And you?"

"Two times three," said Campbell, "before you came and after. And now that two-thirds of the cases are nicely convalescent, including this last, the Glasgie grandees will be coming to stamp out the disease. They'll spread their nurses thick about the island, to teach the people all the things they don't want to know; and they'll sit drinking my whisky at my house while they prepare reports for medical journals on the mysterious nature of the disease, and that will be the end of the fever at Uist."

And yet it was not quite the end. For the old man and the young it meant a friendship that lasted until the wind-blown doctor with the sea-blue eyes passed away into the elements of his native isle. And even when the priest had lost his early zeal, and had grown fat and pursy in the oblivion from which the Powers-that-be had never seen fit to recall him, the memory of that time lingered with Ishbel, who had brought them together. When she was an old woman, with married daughters, and sons drowned at sea, she used to take out of her press sometimes two treasures wrapped in pure white linen. One was a battered leather whisky-flask, picked up long before in the tracks of Brown Bess, and the other was a beautifully illuminated missal with the name Ignatius Murphy in Gothic letters on the fly-leaf. And the Highland woman's agate eyes would grow misty and dim, but hardly with sorrow, as she remembered the days of the fever at Uist.

THREE POETIC DRAMAS[1]

TWENTY years ago and more Mr. Stedman predicted the revival of the drama as a literary form of vital and contemporary quality and interest; and many times during the intervening years those who are sensitive to the unspoken thought of their time have been aware of an attitude of expectancy, an air of hope, toward the future among those who love literature for its own sake. The reaction toward excessive energy in the writing of novels, the persistent tendency of the tremendous putting forth of force in dealing with materials to find expression in ideas as well as in things, the deepening sense of that social solidarity which is the soul out of which dramatic situations constantly arise, have seemed to point to the revival of the drama as most vitally expressive of the life of an age which takes refuge in stories from its cares and labors, and whose conscience, penetrating social and industrial conditions to the living tissue of humanity behind them, is beginning to turn to the drama with something of the zest and passion of the men who read or saw Shakespeare's plays as they came from his hand. On the Continent the dramatic movement has of late years overshadowed every other form of literary activity in its force and passion and in public interest. Ibsen, Sudermann, von Hauptmann, Maeterlinck, d'Annunzio, stand for a large group of powerful, original, daring, and variously gifted men who have made the drama what the novel was twenty years ago.

In England a novelist of such assured position and sustained success as Mr. Hardy has succumbed to the vital attraction of the drama, and in "The Dynasts" has shown how a man of genius can waste rich material in the endeavor to do that for which he is unfitted. Mr. Wilde has found a more audacious and lively successor in Mr. Shaw, who is amusing,

[1] *Nero.* By Stephen Phillips. The Macmillan Company, New York.
The City: A Poem Drama, and Other Poems. By Arthur Upson. The Macmillan Company, New York.
Alcestis and Other Poems. By Sara King Wiley. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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irritating, and interesting even when he mocks himself and makes game of his audience. Mr. Pinero and Mr. Jones are expert playwrights rather than dramatists by the compulsion of genius; but the publication of their plays in book form is significant of the general interest in the drama. Mr. Stephen Phillips has cast in his fortunes with the drama, and has given the world a few plays of poetic charm. His earlier work in this field gave promise of superior achievement, which his later work has not quite fulfilled. "Nero," although by no means lacking interest nor occasional lyric passages of great charm and melody, must be characterized as the least interesting of the group to which it belongs. It is not possible, however, to dismiss Mr. Phillips, as some American critics have been in the habit of doing, as a writer of small account. He belongs among the first contemporary English poets; and although this does not give him very high rank measured by absolute standards, it entitles him to careful study. He is a thoughtful poet who takes his work seriously; he is an accomplished craftsman who has made himself to a very considerable degree the master of the technique of one of the most difficult of the arts. His work has never failed to convey the impression of a zealous student of literature, associated in taste and interest with the best in his field, and bringing forth his own work not without the corrective touch of self-criticism. He is not a prolific writer. At the end of about fifteen years of publication only half a dozen thin volumes bear his name. In "Nero" he attempted to reconstruct, along lines effective for poetic purposes, the dilapidated character of Nero, and in this endeavor the play shows ample knowledge and abundant skill.

Nero, as interpreted in the play, is an æsthetic degenerate of a type with which the modern world is much too familiar. The defect in the drama lies in its failure to convince the reader that such a man existed. Those charming bits of diction which readers of "Ulysses" and of "Paolo and Francesca" remember are to be found also in "Nero," but by no means so abundantly. Mr. Phillips has a dignity of diction which rarely fails him, and which sometimes covers, though it does not conceal, a very commonplace thought or a weak dramatic situation. The utmost that can be said of this play as a whole is that it will not detract from Mr. Phillips's reputation. But it must be added that, at his age and with his experience, every new drama ought to register distinct progress in his art.

Mr. Arthur Upson, whose "Octaves in an Oxford Garden" found many appreciative readers, has written a poetic drama of unusual beauty of motive in "The City;" a play which differentiates itself sharply in theme and spirit from the plays of passion which have come of late in large numbers from the presses. The King of Edessa, in Mesopotamia, lies desperately ill of a disease beyond the healing skill of his physicians. The fame of the great Physician at Jerusalem has reached him, and a courtier has been despatched to invoke the ministry of the marvelous power at the command of the strange Healer of the bodies and souls of the afflicted. The search ends on an "olive-sprinkled hill" beyond the walls of Bethany. The urgent letter is placed in his hands, but before words have been spoken the Physician seems to understand, and hands the messenger a scroll on which a few words are written. Then comes the great tragedy before the eyes of the courtier, and he who had healed others dies at the hands of savage men. When the Queen hears these words, she cries out in her anguish:

"Oh, let them never leave their quiet hills,
These prophets that dream well for all the world!
Let them remain in mountains far from man
Where nothing fiercer than the lion roams,
Communing with the kindly elements—
The earth that is their mother, and the winds
That are such spirits' brothers, and the fire
Of splendid storms that like their words breaks forth,
And waters that flow out like their great love!
They are of other worlds and strangers here:
Let them remain in mountains—or in gardens!"

When the scroll is unrolled, these words appear:

"As to the part of your epistle which
Concerns my going hence to visit you,
Know that I have a mission to fulfill
In mine own city, and must here remain
Till all its ends be satisfied. Yet you

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Of your infirmity shall know full cure,
And those most dear to you have peace."

This vague message is interpreted by a sudden light that streams into the mind of the King; he faces a rebellion in their strength and in the illumination of a vision of the nobler city that is to be:

"Again the third time I was lifted up.
A mighty, living, beautiful walled town,
A-wave with trees, lay shining on the plain.
And underneath her walls a river glided,
Safe bearing her full many a peaceful sail.
And there lived folk who all day worked and sang,
And folk that to and fro sped silently;
And here and there some sat apart and thought.
From all whom throbbed a joy in unison
With the warm earth and her enfolding heavens;
Through all, the strong, perpetual streams of life
That through the universe unceasing flow.
And this dream ended not with cloud or mist,
But slow receded in its radiance
Till it grew small as towers and sails and stream
That whiten yonder to the rising moon.
And as it went I heard a voice that said:
'Thou, Abgar, art the King of cities three:
The Past, the Present, and the Yet-to-Come.
Out of the Past the Present by slow pain
And undiscerning upward agonies;
Out of the Present, by as many throes,
The city of Celestial Harmony.'"

The play ends in a climax nobly conceived in the spirit of the great Teacher, and its beauty lies largely in the play of light from a new order of life over the brutality and strife of the old order.

From "Octaves in an Oxford Garden," which are included in the volume, the two opening stanzas will suggest the fine vein of meditation and the delicate feeling for rich and beautiful association which run through the pain:

"The day is like a sabbath in a swoon.
Slow in September's blue go fair cloud-things
Poising aslant upon their charmèd wings,
Stilled to the last faint backward smiles of June.
Softly I tread, and with repentant shoon,
Half fearfully in sweet imaginings,
Where broods, like courtyard of departed kings,
The old Quadrangle paved with afternoon.

No footfall sounds within the empty hall;
No echoes people corridor and stair;
The sunlight slumbers on the silent square,
Forgetful of slow shadows by the wall.
Yon is the passage where low lights do fall
And linger longest (I have watched them there),
Beyond which you will find a spot most fair,
A comfortable and a holy spot withal."

Mrs. Drummond's "Alcestis" is a lyric treatment in dramatic form of one of the most appealing and beautiful Greek myths; a story which has modern interest and is more easily interpreted to modern feeling than most of the great tragedies in which Greek thought on the deep things of life found poetic expression. This latest rendering of the old story follows the lines of the Greek drama, but in sentiment, emotion, and richness of diction is the work of a woman bred in modern conceptions of love and marriage, and of the deep and holy instincts of modern womanhood. In free play of imagination, frankness of creation, passionate devotion, and exaltation of sacrifice, the play is fundamentally lyrical. This quality is strikingly shown in two passages spoken by Alcestis, which convey a clearer impression of Mrs. Drummond's spirit and manner than the most elaborate characterization:

"This breast stirs in the wind of love, soft blowing;
Forget the world, remember how I love thee,
And I will sing of love and night and spring.

Through clustered bloom of orchard trees
Murmurs the evening breeze,
And rippling like a shallow stream
Lulls to a drowsy dream.
In the pale sky the moon hangs pale,
The apple petals sail
And sink in deep grass, gleaming green,
Where darkening shadows lean.
The robbins twitter, settling slow;
The nearing cattle low;
Their herders whistle as they come,
And children scamper home.
All that went forth to toil and quest
Gather to love and rest."

"A cold breath strikes upon my happiness
Like sudden fierce spring winds on early flowers.
I hear the heavy plashing of his oars
Who comes to take me to the realms of death.
Admetus, I have lost thee in the gloom,
I shall not ever feel thy clasping arms,
Nor the soft pressure of my children's lips,
Nor hear their bird-sweet callings at the dawn,
Nor watch them grow in beauty and in strength,
Nor guide and guard their tender steps from harm.
My heart grows faint, my body chills and fails;
Alas! I am too weak. Give courage, Zeus!"

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Comment on Current Books

A Comprehensive View of Italy

The accomplished biographer of Lessing and Schopenhauer has produced an interesting and valuable book on Italy. Her aim is not so much to describe the Italy of the past as actual conditions in the peninsula. In that description she is thoroughgoing, she dips beneath the surface. She has interesting things to say about the court, artists, authors, archæologists, scientists, inventors, dramatists, and journalists. But, what is more striking, she seems equally at home whether putting such a poet as Ada Negri or such an archæologist as Giacomo Boni in their proper places, or in discussing agrarian and fiscal conditions. Her treatment of those conditions should commend it to students of economics. They may well read her chapter on agriculture, if for nothing else than because it shows how a high tariff may prostrate industry; for instance, the sugar duty is so heavy in Italy that the native fruit grower must export his fruit to be put into preserves elsewhere, while the salt tax, for example, is so rigidly enforced that the whole coast is patrolled lest people should take sea-water for evaporation. The income tax in Italy varies from ten to twenty per cent., the land tax from thirty to fifty per cent.; in consequence the land rarely yields over three per cent. (The Italy of the Italians. By Helen Zimmern. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50, net.)

The English Berkshire

No one who has journeyed or who would journey by river from Oxford to London should fail to read Mr. James Edmund Vincent's detailed and delightful description of the part therein of the Berkshire bank. For a hundred miles of the Thames borders Berkshire's upper boundary. Travel by river, indeed, is practically unavoidable unless the traveler omits much that is interesting, for, save at rare intervals, the roads do not follow the river's winding course. In the general description Windsor Castle is naturally the subject of a chapter, and a capital one. It is pleasantly gossipy, as compared with some other descriptions in this excellent series of "Highways and Byways." Indeed, in that series the talk about persons might be slightly more emphasized. We are always grateful, in the present volume, whenever its author comes to such places as Hendred House and its memories of Sir Thomas More, or to Sunningwell Church, the burial-place of Samuel Fell, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, and who, alas! is to be remembered for all time as a disagreeable man, because of a familiar nursery jingle-rhyme. Mr. Vincent's text is immensely reinforced by Mr. Griggs's many and charming illustrations. (Highways and Byways in Berkshire. By James Edmund Vincent. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.)

Italian Travel

An extremely pleasant little book of Italian travel is that by Anne Hollingsworth Wharton. She travels from one end to the other of the peninsula and describes her adventures and those of her women companions. Her accounts of life in the various towns of Italy are as unhackneyed as they are simple and unaffected. (Italian Days and Ways. By Anne Hollingsworth Wharton. J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.)

Men Who Made the Nation

A thoroughly well made reprint of Dr. Sparks's well-known book, presenting an outline of United States history from 1760 to 1865; one of the volumes in Macmillan's Standard School Library, which includes a long list of books that have proved entertaining and useful, or have, as in the case of Charles Kingsley's "Water Babies" and Lewis Carroll's "Through the Looking-Glass," taken their places with the classics. These books are substantially printed; in many cases they are well illustrated; in all cases they are well bound. Threescore and more volumes include books on American history, biography, classic legends, fiction, nature study, and poetry. (The Men Who Made the Nation. By Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. 50 cents.)

Modern Poets and Christian Teaching

Two volumes intended to analyze the relation indicated in the above title are devoted to the poetry of Tennyson and of Sidney Lanier. The single purpose of the author of the first, William E. Smyser, is to present the poems of Tennyson in which he has expressed his religious faith. Mr. Smyser judiciously restrains his personal views, and allows the poet and the circumstances of the time to speak. Tennyson's faith was never narrowed to a creed, but it was nevertheless clearly conceived and clearly enunciated in many beautiful and familiar poems. Restless, hostile to the sluggish church, disgusted by lifeless sermons "worse than the cawing of rooks," as Jane Carlyle said, the group of thinkers to

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which Tennyson belonged found utterance for their discontent. "In Memoriam" is the wonderful record of spiritual struggle brought upon a strong soul through heavy sorrow. The author goes carefully through the stages of philosophic and religious thought expressed in the great poems up to the last volume of verse—"A slender sheaf from autumn field"—when Tennyson awaited death in serenity of hope and full confidence. The second volume, upon Sidney Lanier, is by Henry Nelson Snyder, who writes with keen appreciation of the peculiarly noble spiritual nature of the Southern poet, who came through stress of body and mind into a wide comprehension of the infinity of Love, and, feeling the burden of an unspoken message, burned to tell his fellow-men of their privilege. The climax of his faith is expressed in his poem "The Crystal Christ"—"the noblest chanting of his *credo*." The meaning of his message is found in the "purity of his soul, in the cheerful manliness and high nobility of his character, and in his knightly struggle against disease and conditions that tended to hold him back and retard his development." The book is a sympathetic appreciation of the poet. (Modern Poets and Christian Teaching: Tennyson. By W. E. Smyser. Sidney Lanier. By Henry Nelson Snyder. Eaton & Mains, New York. $1, net, each.)

The "Moral Social" Ideal

Our increasing intimacy with the Spanish-speaking countries to the south of us in commerce is being quickly followed, we are glad to say, by an appreciation of what is being done by them in the domain of education. One way to get a glimpse into that domain is to read some text-book prepared for use in Central and South American schools or colleges. A good example is Professor Eugenio de Hostos's "Moral Social." The author is the Director-General of the Normal School in the Dominican Republic, and the second edition of his "Moral Social" is now announced. It is a good book and should do good. It was prepared on broad lines, and clearly outlines the relations of the individual with society. (Moral Social. By Eugenio M. de Hostos. Segunda Edicion. Libreria Editorial de Bailly-Bailliere e Hijos, Madrid.)

Patrollers of Palestine

The experiences of a lively party of tourists, men and women, who journey through the Holy Land, their conversation carried on by various characters such as "The Enthusiast," "The Pessimist," etc., form the subject matter of a posthumous book by the late Rev. Haskett Smith. As the editor of "Murray's Handbook to Syria and Palestine" and the author of other books on the Holy Land, Mr. Smith resided long in Palestine, closely studying the idiosyncrasies of the natives, often wearing their costumes and speaking their language. The present volume therefore gives to all who are interested in present-day Palestine, as well as in its historical and religious significance, a certain intimate atmosphere hardly found in other works on that subject. (Patrollers of Palestine. By the Rev. Haskett Smith, M.A., F.R.G.S. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $3, net.)

The Practice of Prayer

This is in its essentials an excellent little book. One who may dissent from some of the writer's theological conceptions can agree with his religious convictions. Only through prayer does God become to us a reality. "The dynamic of prayer is holiness." "Preparation for prayer is the life lived in harmony with the truth we profess to believe." "If we can but learn the true secret of preparation, we shall find that our whole life becomes a prayer." This is the idea within St. Paul's precept, "Pray without ceasing;" in this is the true definition of prayer as communion with God. Dr. Morgan seems to think of the transcendence and the immanence of God as spatial. They are rather to be thought of as dynamic; this is a spiritual, the other a physical, conception. In this view the common objection fails, that prayer can have only a subjective value, efficacious only on one's self. Prayer at least touches God immanent in the praying soul. (The Practice of Prayer. By G. Campbell Morgan, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 75 cents, net.)

A Romance of Perugia

Early fifteenth-century romances are again to the fore. Mr. Egerton R. Williams, Jr., has made a notable contribution to this class of books, illustrated with a few colored pictures by Mr. J. C. Leyendecker. Mr. Williams's hero is Ridolfo, of the famous Baglioni family, which for a century and a half held despotic sway over Perugia. The heroine is Gismonda, Ridolfo's wife, a pale, fair Florentine, a miracle of beauty, gentleness, and goodness. Ridolfo was of course a warrior, not to say a pillager. The story tells how Gismonda affected the warrior's tempestuous life and how she saved him from himself. The author of "The Hill Towns of Italy" well knows how to envelop his romance in a Renaissance atmosphere, against which his characters stand out picturesquely. They are not historic, save in being types closely resembling, now this, now

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that, historical character. Of course Ridolfo is a rather conventional type of an Italian despot, but Gismonda is hardly as conventional type of an Italian heroine. With Mr. Williams, one must admit that there is some necessity for so sharp a contrast, in that the early Renaissance seems to admit but few half-way natures; the people seemed, as a rule, utterly bad or actually divinely inspired. Among the latter, one character in the book, Fra Bernardo, is no mere type; he surely has a prototype in San Bernardino. The scene, as will be expected from the above, is laid in and about Perugia; and the geographical and historical illustrations should interest lovers both of Perugia and of that epoch which we know as the early Renaissance. (Ridolfo: The Coming of the Dawn. By Egerton R. Williams, Jr. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. $1.50.)

Through Scandinavia to Moscow

"We sat glumly together." "Our carriage was packed full up with men and women who looked dourly at us." One turns page after page of Mr. Edwards's entertaining volume content to find such phrases as these and to be in the company of an every-day, unpretentious traveler who has, withal, an uncommonly keen appreciation and a pithy way of "putting things." Mr. Edwards's is a simple, straightforward account, not so much of history, economics, art, and literature in Scandinavia and northern Russia as of the folk-life there. Some good books have already described that life in greater detail; for instance, Jessie Brockner's "Danish Life in Town and Country," Mr. Woods's "Norwegian Byways," Mr. Curtis's "Denmark, Norway, and Sweden," Dr. Newton's "A Run Through Russia," Miss Hapgood's "Russian Rambles," and Madame Blanc's "Promenades en Russie." But for a quick glance Mr. Edwards's, in its way, is as practical as any. The interest of the text is heightened by the many illustrations from the author's clever kodak snapshots. The book is well printed, and with almost never a typographical error such as "Bahnhoff," page 218, for instance. (Through Scandinavia to Moscow. By William Seymour Edwards. The Robert Clarke Company, Cincinnati. $1.50, net.)

Village Sermons

To various memorials of Bishop Westcott's noble life and learning which have appeared since death bereft the Church of England of his voice, his son has added this volume. The forty sermons it contains were preached on various occasions from 1852 to 1881, while he was serving a rural parish, and are published in the hope of their helpfulness to "other country parsons." (Village Sermons. By the late Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.)

The Virgin Birth

If there is a more thorough and scholarly defense of the virgin birth of Jesus Christ than this monograph of Mr. Sweet, we are not acquainted with it. It is a fine testimony to the thorough scholarship which we are persuaded characterizes many a country pastor who remains throughout his life unrecognized even in his own parish. It is not and does not pretend to be impartial; it is a defense of the orthodox doctrine. But it is fair-minded, erudite, thorough. It reports and criticises the various rationalistic theories which have been offered to explain the presence of the narratives of the Birth and Infancy of Jesus in the Gospels, and we think the author succeeds in showing that these rationalistic hypotheses are inconclusive and unsatisfactory. He presents also clearly and effectively the textual grounds for accepting the narratives. There is nothing in the condition of the early texts to throw doubt upon them, and in style and spirit they are unlike the apocryphal Gospels and like the canonical Gospels. We may add that their existence in Tatian's Diatessaron demonstrates that certainly as early as A.D. 160, and probably as early as A.D. 100, they were accepted by the Christian Church as of equal authority with the rest of the Gospel narratives. In dealing with the singular silence of the rest of the New Testament on the Virgin Birth the author is not equally successful. His attempt to interpret John i. 14, "The Word was made flesh," and Galatians iv. 4, "Made of a woman," as indications that John and Paul recognized the Virgin Birth comes perilously near special pleading. We may sum up the statement of the question in a sentence thus: There is nothing in the form or style of the narratives to indicate that they are of post-apostolic date; the history of the text makes it clear that they are of equal, or substantially equal, antiquity with the rest of the Gospel narratives; and all attempts to account for their introduction into the narratives, if they are not historical, are forced and unsatisfactory; but, on the other hand, there is no indication that the Apostolic Church placed great emphasis or attached special importance to the Virgin Birth, or that the doctrine occupied any important place in primitive Christian theology, since it is never referred to in Christ's reported teaching, nor in the apostolic sermons, nor in any of the Epistles. (The Birth and Infancy of Jesus Christ. By L. Matthews Sweet. The Presbyterian Board of Publication, Philadelphia. $1.50.)

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Letters to The Outlook

"AMERICA AND THE SIXTH COMMANDMENT"

The publicity you give to Judge Thomas's speech is needed. That speech is a breath of fresh air blown in upon the stagnant atmosphere of self-complacency in which Americans have always lived. The unblushing assumption everywhere in our press that every clean thing in conduct, individual and national, is "American" and every unclean thing "un-American" is galling to many of us to meet almost everywhere self-righteously in print.

Judge Thomas's analysis is of patent facts that *saute aux yeux* and long have. It is undeniable that the most distinctively "American" section, Kentucky and the Southwest, where ancestry on this continent goes back a little further and not a little more purely American than in other parts, is where will be found the greatest incidence, not alone of homicide, but of cowardly murder.

The Italian, like his forbear the Roman legionary, enters *corps à corps* upon his *lutte* with his enemy, but what shall be said of the savages who hide in court-houses with Winchesters and open fire upon their well-marked man?—type of thousands of murders from safe concealment that from the very first have meanly distinguished the most "American" of all our communities. G. C. L.

Salem, New Jersey.

CONDITIONAL GIFTS TO COLLEGES

Will you permit a subscriber who habitually looks to The Outlook for wisdom on public questions to ask for your views on a point briefly hinted at in your issue of February 16?

In referring to the magnificent gift of Mr. Rockefeller to the General Education Board you say: "The funds it holds represent only a fraction of the amounts which it will really control; by giving a sum to an institution on condition that the institution raise an equal amount, it will be able to direct much larger amounts than it possesses." This subject has repeatedly come before me in a very practical form. I am not a multi-millionaire; I am not even a millionaire; but my income is more than I need for my family expenses, and I am consequently visited from time to time by college presidents and other educators who are in need of money to maintain their institutions. It has happened a number of times in the past that such a college president has appealed to me for a special contribution in addition to my customary subscription, on the ground that a certain Mr. Dives had promised to give him, say, $25,000, on condition that he would raise double the amount through other subscribers.

I have often felt a certain resentment at what seemed to me the exercise of a moral taxing power by a big philanthropist over the little ones, but from sympathy for the overworked and underpaid college president have yielded.

Not long ago, however, a college president came to me and said that Mr. Crœsus had offered to give his institution $25,000 for a building provided the college would raise the same amount for an endowment. At the same time Mr. Dives had offered $25,000 for an endowment provided the $25,000 offered by Mr. Crœsus could be increased to $75,000. But neither the $25,000 of Mr. Dives nor the $25,000 of Mr. Crœsus could be counted in meeting the conditions imposed by the other. Thus the president was obliged either to undertake the arduous task of raising $75,000 or reject the tempting offers of $50,000.

It at once occurred to me to ask myself, Why cannot the system be pushed a little further? I might, for instance, offer one thousand dollars to establish a Lazarus fund of five thousand dollars on condition that four thousand should be raised by other persons, but that my one thousand should not be counted in making up the Crœsus or Dives funds. And if others impose the same conditions, we might keep the college president constantly traveling after a beautiful *fata morgana* of endowments which he would never reach. The system would thus die a natural death. But while it has not yet been pushed to its limits, may we not raise certain questions which naturally suggest themselves in connection with it.

(1) Is it for the best interests of education to lay this heavy burden upon college presidents, who are obliged, in order to meet the onerous conditions imposed by generous givers, to leave their regular work and for the time become mendicants? Some farmers are in the habit of hanging a beet just above the reach of their hens in order that the latter may get exercise by jumping after the luscious tidbit. But is it desirable to increase the activity of presidents of small colleges by applying the same method to them?

(2) Does not this system impose an undue burden upon the small giver? I am, of

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course, not referring to the case of a man who offers $25,000 towards a fund provided three others will each contribute an equal amount. The practical working out of the system which I have described above is that many people of very small means, often in the neighborhood, pledge sums which it takes them years to save from their small incomes to help meet the conditions imposed by the large donor, whose name is associated with, if not formally attached to, the fund which they have helped to build up.

(3) Does not this method import into philanthropy the spirit of sharp bargaining which is condemned both by law and by ethics in business? It is claimed that some very large shippers have offered to give their business to a railway on condition of receiving a discriminating rate, which, of course, is given at the expense of the small shipper. If a rich man offers to create a large fund on condition that other givers, mainly small ones, shall make up two-thirds of it, is there not a strong family resemblance between the methods, even though one may be called business and the other generosity?

I ask these questions not in a spirit of hostility to our multi-millionaires or of criticism of their motives. I assume that they wish to do the maximum of good with what money they give away, and I know that the success of the method described above in increasing the funds of colleges is thought by some to be its ample justification. But I cannot help wondering whether people fully realize at what cost and at whose cost this success is obtained. LAZARUS.

JUSTICE TO WHOM JUSTICE IS DUE

Having read the article in The Outlook's issue of January 26, "Justice for the Blind," I think a few words in justice to the State of Massachusetts for the efforts expended in behalf of the blind of the State are due. In Massachusetts, at least, the blind are not considered objects of charity. On the contrary, everything is being done to eradicate any such idea. Every sightless child in the Commonwealth, whether from the home of poverty or from the home of the millionaire, is entitled to a thorough education at the Perkins Institution. In fact, there is constant vigilance on the part of those interested in the blind to see that no child is overlooked who should be in school. And every effort is brought to bear upon the parents to induce them to send the child, where any reluctance is shown. Not only do the children have as thorough an education as seeing children, but in addition many branches of manual labor are taught. There are competent teachers in all the departments. Sewing is taught in a thorough and most systematic manner, so that at the end of the course any girl is competent to cut and make her own garments and even to draft patterns—an art which the majority of seeing girls are incapable of doing. There is also a splendid course in knitting and crocheting. The boys learn piano-tuning, cane-seating, etc. Mattress-making is another branch which receives special attention. As for bead-making, it is entirely out of the question. It is of absolutely no value, and therefore not taken into consideration at the Perkins Institution. Nothing is made there that cannot be put to some practical use. Furthermore, any child who has completed the course at Perkins Institution, aside from the educational advantages and manual training, has been under a most refining influence, and cannot help but be benefited thereby. This portion of the work is no new departure, but has been in existence for years. Within the past seven years a new feature has developed—that of home teaching. There are four teachers employed by the State to teach the adult blind in their homes. Reading, writing, knitting, crocheting, hand sewing, machine stitching, and typewriting have all been successfully taught. There is a store at 383 Boylston Street, Boston, where work done by blind women of the State is sold. A high standard of work is required. The patrons of this store are among the wealthy who pay good prices and consequently demand correspondingly good work. Many of the ready-made articles bought at the various stores would not be accepted at this store, not being up to standard.

As a rule, the blind are very cheerful, and in almost all cases are grateful for any little help that will enable them even partly to support themselves. Generally they do not want charity nor pity. There are seeing people who claim "the world owes them a living." The blind are willing and anxious to be independent, and are only too happy to take up any work that will in any way aid in their support. The State of Massachusetts is doing all in its power to help the blind to help themselves, and to put them on a basis with seeing people. Not by any means does it treat them as inmates of asylums or objects of pity. FLORENCE M. PUDDEFOOT,

South Framingham, Massachusetts.

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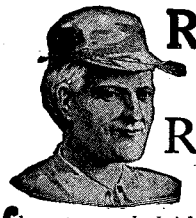

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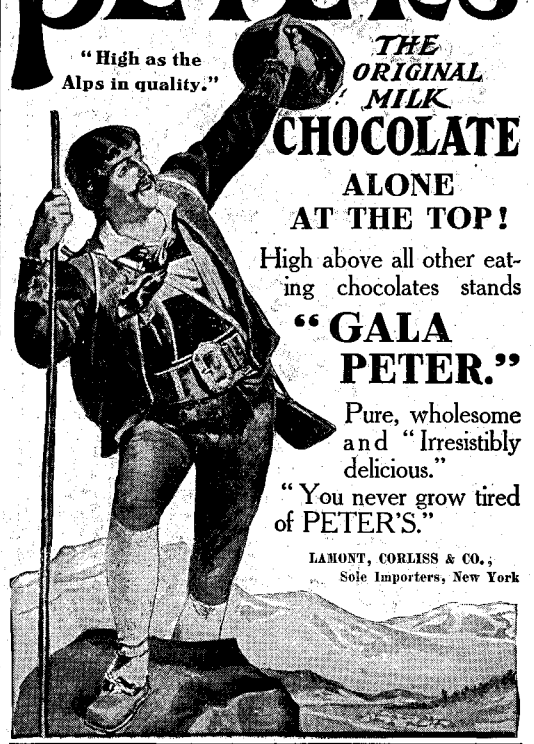

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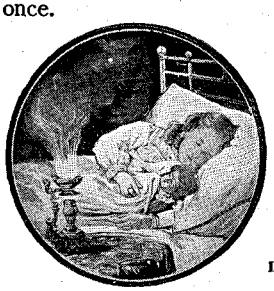

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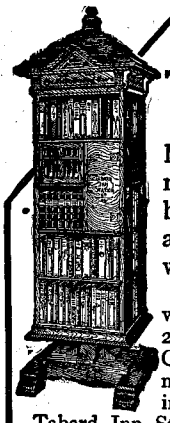

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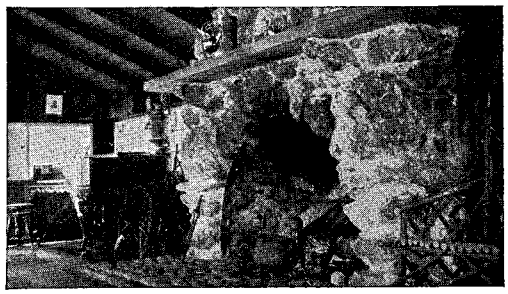

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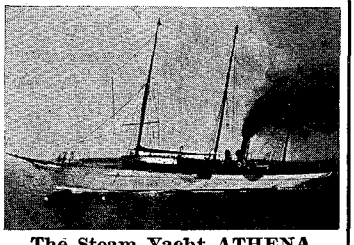
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